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THE

LIGHT OF NATURE

PURSUED,

BY

ABRAHAM TUCKER, Esq.

Second Edition,

REVISED AND CORRECTED.

59737

TOGETHER WITH

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

Sir H. P. St. JOHN MILDMAY, Bart. M. P.

VOL. VII.

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59737

CONTENTS.

VOL. VII.

PAGE

CHAP. XXII. *Word, or Logos* - - - - - - - 1
——— XXIII. *Sacraments* - - - - - - - - 69
——— XXIV. *Discipline* - - - - - - - - - 98
——— XXV. *Articles* - - - - - - - - - - 120
——— XXVI. *Doing all for the Glory of God* 147
——— XXVII. *Doing as we would be done by* 257
——— XXVIII. *Indolence* - - - - - - - - - 273
——— XXIX. *Fondness for Pleasures* - - - 289
——— XXX. *Self-Denial* - - - - - - - - - 312
——— XXXI. *Habits* - - - - - - - - - - - 330
——— XXXII. *Credulity and Incredulity* 348
——— XXXIII. *Employment of Time* - - - 364
——— XXXIV. *Content* - - - - - - - - - 380
——— XXXV. *Rule, Custom, and Fashion* 396
——— XXXVI. *Education* - - - - - - - - 453
——— XXXVII. *Death* - - - - - - - - - - 536
——— XXXVIII. *Conclusion* - - - - - - - 616

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THE

LIGHT OF NATURE PURSUED.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS.

CHAP. XXII*.

WORD, OR LOGOS.

HAVING in the last Chapter explained the Divinity of Christ, in a manner consistent, as I hope, both with reason and orthodoxy, I may now proceed with more freedom and less liableness to be suspected of evil designs, to examine some other ideas of that Divinity, particularly those concerning the Logos or Word, Creator of the World; I have already touched upon this subject in my Chapter upon the Trinity, where I have committed an oversight in saying, § 11, that I had not happened to meet with any person of repute in the Church since Beveridge, who held Christ to be the Demiourgos or Maker of the World. But I have since seen a discourse, in four parts, of a late Bishop of London's, [*Dr. Sherlock*] whom I shall never deny to

have been a person of very great repute in the Church, wherein that opinion of my lord of St. Asaph seems enforced with great strength and acuteness of argument. As I was one of his Lordship's flock, attended his discourses with much pleasure, and I hope with some emolument, and had read them when first published; I had probably heard and must certainly have read, the very discourse alluded to above, yet it proved like the seed scattered by the way side, which the birds of the air came and picked up and carried away. I could easily conceal this slip of memory from the world by changing a few words in the Manuscript, which still remains locked up in my custody: but I choose to let it stand, agreeably with the character of the Searches, unsolicitous to hide their defects, but rather willing to put their readers upon the guard against admitting too hastily whatever they may advance.

For the like reason I shall take notice of another mistake, falling naturally enough to be considered in the way of my present enquiry, wherein I have been set right upon an article in Mr. Locke's Essay, by a very learned and judicious Expositor * more in-

* Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, in his Defence of Mr. Locke's Opinion, in answer to an Essay on Personal Identity. 1769.

timately

timately acquainted with that excellent author, who by telling another person, has very lately told me, that we had misapprehended him; for that Mr. Locke used Person, not as a metaphysical term, comprehending what belongs to a man in real existence, but as a forensic, denoting some such quality or modification as denominates him a moral agent, and renders him a true object of rewards and punishments. This discovery proved no mortification to me, as the reader will easily believe; for he must have perceived me always uneasy whenever fancying myself in discordance with Mr. Locke, and therefore will conclude it must give me sensible pleasure to find myself relieved from such uneasiness.

2. But as that other person, through whose correction I received mine, appears to have the prying eye and sedate industrious countenance of a Search, I am willing to acknowledge him for a relation, and beg leave to stand up for the honour of the family, by defending the commendableness of his attempt to settle what it is that distinguishes one person from another, understanding that term as relative to the real existence, which is now proved upon us not to have been the object had in contemplation by Mr. Locke.

This is going as far as I can, for with respect to the success of his attempt, I find myself

forced rather to take side with our reprover. I always look upon my consciousness as an evidence where I was, what I did or saw at any former time: but if I had a continuation of thought all last night while asleep, I am sure I know nothing of it now, therefore it can be no evidence of any thing done by me, or happening to me yesterday. Consciousness, indeed, may, and sometimes does, give false evidence. I have myself been conscious, that is, firmly believed, or seemed to remember, leaving a paper in one particular place, and afterwards found it in another, under my own lock and key. I once was conscious of having read in my bible that the tower of Siloam fell upon certain Galileans, and quoted the text so in the separate edition of my Chapter on Freewill: whereas any body that pleases to consult his own bible, will see that I never really read any such thing. Nevertheless, the distribution of reward and punishment in another life being the act of God, nobody can suspect he will suffer a fallacious consciousness to take possession of any man: therefore whatever condition we may find ourselves in, whether in the body of a bear, or a lamb, or a man, or in one of those the angels are supposed to have appeared in, or without any body at all, provided we have a consciousness of our present conduct, we

may

may take that for a certain evidence of our being the very persons who held that conduct, whether good or bad, and become the proper objects to receive the wages respectively earned thereby, either of sin unto death, or of righteousness unto life eternal.

But our enquiry tends to discover what constitutes our identity, not what gives us our evidence of it: and I fear we shall hardly find it in a continuation of thought. For in the first place the matter of fact, that the soul does always think, seems very disputable: in the next, supposing that point demonstrated, one cannot presently tell what is to be understood by such continuation of thought, as shall constitute an identity of person. When eight bells are chimed for an hour together, there is a continuation of sound the whole time, yet this does not constitute an identity among them, nor consolidate all the eight into one and the same bell. If upon a large army marching along, the General commands Halt, the word is given successively from one corps to another until it reaches the remotest ends of the columns, I presume every man has an idea of the word as he hears and repeats it; so then here is a continuation of the same thought running throughout the whole host, yet this can never make it all to be one identical thing. No, you say, there is

no

no occasion it should: for it is not the same kind of thought, but a continuation of thought in general, that constitutes the identity. *Well*, then, how shall we know which way to distinguish one continuation from another? for there are multitudes of them in the world, and there may be a continuation of thought in general imagined, where there is a change of the subject wherein the thought at different times is found.

Romantic suppositions, I find, are not to every body's liking: but my good cousin *Search*, I am sure, will not be angry with me for making them, because he practises the like himself. Let him then please to suppose a new Planet or habitable Earth created with a thousand men, who should continue to think during their abode thereon: but at the end of twenty years one half of them were annihilated, and as many new men created in their room, who should begin to think the moment the former left off. Suppose farther, that after a second twenty years the remaining half of the first men, were likewise annihilated, and succeeded by an equal number of fresh men, who should go on with their trains of thought for a third score of years. Here would be just a thousand uninterrupted continuations of thought, and no more, during the whole time: yet who will say the men of the last

score

score were the same persons with those of the first? Besides that thought in general, taken abstractedly, is one and the same thing wherever found. You say you think without ceasing, and I presume you would say the same of me: and it is our thinking that makes us persons; for the table which never thinks, is no person. Be it so: then our thinking constitutes us persons; but what constitutes us different persons? for I am not you, nor you me. Surely not our thinking, for in that respect we are exactly the same: what else then can it be unless our substantial or numerical diversity? We may have different heights, shapes, gaits, gestures, voices, or wear different coloured cloaths, and folks may know us from one another by those marks: but these are evidences of our being different persons, not what constitutes us such. Neither in our fictitious Planet, can you ever make out a thousand continuations subsisting at one time, any otherwise than by considering them as the thoughts of so many persons, each distinguished from the rest in some other respect than that of their thinking. Thus you see the same objection actually lies against the continuation, as I had supposed lying against consciousness, in my Chapter on the Existence of Mind, page 77. For the idea of person must precede that of continuation:

tinuation: so it is no help to tell me I may find my personality by my continuation, because I must settle my idea of personality before I can make use of he explanation.

3. We Searches, although many of us are not clever at handling the telescope, are observed to be in general very fond of the microscope. This leads us of course to pry about amongst objects difficult to be discerned; but I humbly conceive there are difficulties in the world which are not nugatory difficulties. We often find them useful to ourselves for keeping our thoughts distinct and steady: and sometimes if we can get a good pencil to delineate our microscopic observations neatly, may make them serviceable to other people, and give a little check to the fluctuation of language and ideas common among mankind. Now for the credit of my new relation, and myself, I shall endeavour to make out that this object, which we have holden under the microscope, is a matter of importance: nevertheless, as it does not suit with the honesty of a Search, to extol things higher than they deserve, I shall first point out in what particulars I think it of no moment.

Our enquiry does not seem to promise a result that can at all contribute towards advancing that main purpose of Religion, the keeping mankind in order by the hope of future

future rewards, and dread of future punishments. For our people do not build their expectations upon a nice and accurate survey of their own frame and constitution, but upon the proper foundation whereon they ought to rest them, namely, the Word of God, who has promised to recompense every man according to his deeds. Now in the word Man, they include their idea of Person, so as to believe that each and every of them in his own person shall receive the adequate recompence of his doings. And as their assurance depends solely upon the divine Promise, they may be safely left at large, to fix or fluctuate in their own ideas of person: for whatever they apprehend for the time to constitute them the same person, they know that God is able and faithful to continue or restore it to them. If consciousness makes the person, when the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open, their consciousness of things they have now forgotten will return. If the thinking soul be themselves, he will preserve the soul entire after dissolution of the bodily frame, and invest it with a glorified or diabolical body, capable of receiving blissful or tormenting sensations. If their body must consist of the very same matter, he is able to call back all the dusts whereinto they shall rot, and replace them in vital union as before.

fore. If they must have the same stature, shape, complexion, features, limbs, and organs, it is no hard matter for Almighty Power to give them a second time what they see and feel he has given them once. Or even if there should be any one so idle as to think he cannot be the same person without having the same coat on, this would make no difficulty upon the present point; for he would not doubt the power of God to gather together all the threads and hairs and single particles whereinto his coat may be dissipated by water, or fire, or time, and reinstate them in their present texture, fitted for his wear.—Wherefore it seems prudent to forbear perplexing them with subtile questions concerning the identity of person, and if they perplex themselves, as sometimes they will, to draw them off from the subject as well as we can, and evade a direct answer, which we shall never be able to make them comprehend. For it matters not what conception they have of the thing so long as they adhere to this general truth, that their own person, wherein-soever it consists, shall be made accountable for the actions performed by it in this life.

4. But there are some other respects wherein I cannot yet persuade myself but that a right notion of person, as expressive of our real existence, is of great importance

to

to the interests of Religion, particularly in that fundamental article, the Being of a God; in proof whereof I have already drawn arguments in the seventh, eighth, and ninth Chapters of my Third Volume, from the primary properties of spiritual substances, or persons, differing from those of the material, for which no cause can be assigned among the powers of nature, therefore, recourse must be had to an Author of nature. But besides this benefit, a persuasion of the unperishableness of our persons must take off all that unwillingness to acknowledge a God, which is well known most of any thing to have driven men into Atheism. They look upon God as an object of affright, a controler of their actions, a restraint upon their pleasures, and therefore resist the most cogent arguments that would draw on a conclusion they dread.

Lucretius took advantage of this prejudice among mankind, and threw out a lure for proselytes by the promise of an indemnity for all the wickedness they might please to commit: well knowing that any specious sophisms would serve to prove his point, if he could once get them to wish it true. For if the soul be nothing more than a result from the disposition of certain material atoms in a very curious organization, whenever the organization is broken up, there is an end

of

of the soul, and all possibility of punishment removed. It had been objected against him, that since chance never ceases working, she might at some future time cast the same atoms together again into an arrangement precisely the same with that they stand in at present, in which case the same soul must return. He granted that the atoms, some thousands of years hence, after infinite tumblings and tossings about, would fall into their former situation, from whence a thinking, feeling soul must necessarily result: but he denied that this would be the same soul. Just as when a company of dancers assemble together and dance for six hours, the whole is one ball: but if they leave off at the end of three hours, and a fortnight afterwards a second party is proposed whereon they meet to dance for three hours again, this is a ball too, but another ball distinct from the former. So the soul, which is but a dance of atoms, cannot be the the same ball with that performed by the same company a thousand years ago: therefore, whatever wretched fortune may befal it, we, that is, our present souls, have no concern therein.

5. This being the state of the argument, I much fear that my industrious fellow-labourer, who I am persuaded intended no harm, has unwittingly furnished arms for the enemy;

enemy; who will eagerly lay hold on the continuation to enforce his own tenets. Suppose the same collection of atoms, erst called Lucretius, should return to their pristine arrangement, and converse among us here in old England under the same name. If we went to put him in mind what a wicked dog he had been in his first appearance upon earth, he would reply, prithee, do not twit me with that: it was not I, but somebody else, that was the wicked dog you cry out upon. Mind what your namesake there says: he is an excellent master of argument, and has demonstrated beyond all controversy, that it is the continuation of thought which constitutes the person. What have I to do with that old fellow, the predecessor of Virgil? when he hung himself up, like a dog as he might be for aught I know or care, there was an end of his continuation: and if I began to think five and twenty years ago after a discontinuance of eighteen centuries, this was the commencement of a new continuation, a new person, that has no connection in the world with the former, who strutted about the streets of Rome in my pretty shape.

And your friend in like manner has fortified me against all alarms of a future reckoning. If your God designed me an accountable

countable creature, he has managed very ill in making me mortal, because he will thereby put it out of his own power ever to call me to an account hereafter. What if he should work a resurrection of my atoms, and set them a thinking again? this would be a new creation, another continuation of thought, another person, not me, nor anywise affecting me. Therefore, I will think freely and act freely, kiss the girls and put the bottle about, as long as I can: and when I can think and act no longer, then good night to you all, I shall sleep sound enough, I warrant. Why should Lucy the Second care what becomes of Lucy the Third? let the devils pinch, and scourge, and burn, till they are tired, I shall feel nothing of them. But sure he can never be so unjust as to have another boy flogged for naughty tricks played by me.

I am well satisfied my honest friend had no thought of such a turn being given to his system, being persuaded that the belief of a divine Power, which would preserve to us our continuation of thought after dissolution of our bodies, was so well established that nothing new can endanger the shaking it. I believe he is right so far as to our compatriots, among whom I have scarce ever heard of an Atheist upon principle, though I fear there are too many in practice. But

cross

cross the Channel they seem to be not so scarce, if one may guess by the compositions of their present favorite poet and romancer, besides some other squibs thrown out occasionally on the other side the water; for that volatile people are more prone than ourselves to mistake essence for existence, our evidence of things for the things themselves, take thought and a thinker for synonymous terms, and are led by notions similar to that of the continuation, to deny the immortality of the soul. Now though the politicians, whose duty it is to preserve the balance of power, must look upon the French nation as our rivals, and avoid every thing that may advance their interests: yet the Searches, being citizens of the world, will esteem a Frenchman a fellow-citizen connected in interest with themselves, and abstain carefully from venting opinions which may be employed for overturning all Religion from the very bottom among any denizens of the same city, wherever dispersed throughout this terrestrial habitation.

6. Now the doctrine of the same individual substance cannot be perverted to such mischievous purposes: for though I find no repugnance amongst my ideas against believing it possible for God to annihilate a substance, and at any distance of time create

it

it again the same identical substance it was before, yet I see no shadow of probability that he ever does do so. And the Atheist cannot admit the possibility of such annihilation, for he denies a God, and there is none other power capable of either producing a new substance into Being or thrusting out an old one. So that if the same person be the same substance, there can be no discontinuance, but though it should lie a thousand years in utter insensibility, yet, whatever good or evil shall befal it afterwards, will affect the very same person who receives either now. Let him then turn back to the two concluding sections in the Sixth Chapter of my Third Volume, where he will see what a dismal, disconsolate prospect lies before him. Let him reflect how many requisites there are for our sustentation and enjoyment; the wonderful organization of our bodies, the curious structure of plants and animals, the disposition of the earth, in hills, and soils, and waters, all needful to supply us with externals: and whenever taken from these, he will find his expectations reduced to the lottery of chance, wherein there are a million of blanks to one prize. This must make him heartily wish to find a God, and a beneficent Providence, directing all the courses of events among things as well visible

sible as invisible: and give a willing ear to whatever solid arguments can be adduced for the reality of such a governance.

But to prevent confusion of ideas I shall beg the favor of him, if it be not too much trouble for a fine gentleman, just to take one peep with the microscope in order to distinguish between the identity and the essence of person; only desiring him further not to forget what he sees the next instant after he lays down my glass. Consciousness may do well enough for Mr. Locke's purpose, and that most useful one of impressing the idea of an after-reckoning upon the generality: but for the Searche's purpose, that of accurately understanding our nature, I humbly conceive it necessary to place the identity of the person in that of the substance, and its essence in the faculty of perceptivity. Substances are ordinarily ranged under two classes distinguishable from each other by their primary properties of solidity and perceptivity; these then constitute their essence, make them respectively to be what they are, and denominate them, the one matter, and the other spirit.

Bodies, or compositions of mere matter, cannot apply to themselves, nor do we ever apply to them, the personal pronouns, I, Thou, He: whose grammatical meaning, I am war-

ranted to say, generally points out the true origin of our ideas primarily annexed to them; because bodies want perceptivity or the capacity of receiving good and evil. But I apprehend those pronouns are used, not to express the essence of a person, but to distinguish some one person from all the rest: nor are they applicable to perceptivity in the abstract, but to one particular percipient; which term includes the idea of substance. Even among bodies, though we commonly distinguish them by their qualities or appearances, yet where they are exactly similar in appearance, still we can make the distinction: as between two eggs, for we know that a right hand egg is not the left, although for anything we can tell they are essentially the same; therefore the diversity we discern between them can be none other than a numerical or substantial diversity. In like manner, as it is said there have been twins so much alike that nobody could know them apart, when in talking to one we speak of the other and employ the word You, I, He, we appropriate those terms to each, solely upon account of their being different substances.

7. Mr. Locke tells us he had a very confused idea of substance. I believe so, because he was an accurate enquirer, who loved to examine every thing distinctly. And I am

apt

apt to think the idea lies more confused in the minds of the studious than of the vulgar. Though the microscope be an excellent instrument of vision for curious objects, it is hurtful upon many occasions: for if you walk in the street with a pair of microscopes tied to your eyes, you will be perpetually running against people. We plodding folks, who deal much in abstraction, want to abstract a substance from all its qualities; and in that naked state it must certainly exhibit a very confused idea, for it discovers itself solely by its qualities. What, though I know this egg is no otherwise than substantially different from that, I should know nothing of either egg if it were not for the whiteness and oval shape before me.

If we consider the matter fairly, we shall find it full as hard with the best microscope to abstract a quality from its substance and fellow-qualities, as the substance from them. But we deceive ourselves by mistaking the quality for the effect produced in ourselves: which has put some sophist upon undertaking to prove that a rose is not red. For, say they, colour is a sensation of the mind, and the rose has no sense of any colour at all. But redness, when spoken of the rose, is a power of raising a particular sensation in us. It remains in the flower after we cease to look

or think of it. We can easily recall the sensation by our reflexive power at any time without thinking of any source from whence we received it, that is, we can put our minds into the same situation they had been thrown into by the rose, and this we term an abstraction: but we cannot by any effort of imagination conceive a redness really subsisting without us, and actually striking sensations, detached from all shape, size, solidity, and the rose whereto they belonged. If in common discourse we talk of a noise, a smell, or a light, without thinking from whence they proceeded, yet upon a little reflection, we know there must be some sonorous, or odorous, or luminous body occasioning them.

There are some things we can clearly conceive in conjunction with others, though we cannot apart. I seem to myself to have a very clear conception of the surface of my table being smooth, for mine eyes exhibit that appearance without taking in any of the thickness: but I cannot conceive that surface separated from the table without an underside distinguishable from the upper upon turning it round. So I seem as clearly to conceive a substance possessing certain qualities, whether of solidity or perception: yet I cannot easily conceive either substance or quality

existing

existing apart without the other. Indeed, I can frame some confused idea of the former, so far as to believe it possible though never happening in fact; but none at all of the latter. When we speak of things external we do not apprehend them groups of qualities, but bodies possessing them; when of persons, we do not express them by their faculties, whatever we may hold to constitute them persons. I may believe myself a conscient, not a consciousness; nor a continuation of thought, but a continual thinker; nor a perceptivity, but a perceptive spirit. Even God himself we do not apprehend to be a collection of attributes, but the I AM to whom they belong. In all these expressions there is an additional idea over and above the attributes or qualities: and this I call substance, which is therefore one of the most current ideas among us. If any body dislikes the name, let him term it Being, or existence, or agent, or whatever else he pleases: for non ego verba moror modo rem teneatis, amici, I matter not the words so we understand one another's meaning.

8. Then for individuality, without which we shall often mistake in the identity of things, our idea seems somewhat confused too, or rather fluctuating and sometimes fallacious. We cannot find it in the bodies affecting

affecting our senses, which are all undoubtedly compounds: and if we recur to subtile speculations, we shall find insuperable difficulties attending both the admission and rejection of atoms. Whatever strikes in one sensation, or rises to our thought in one complex idea, or suits our convenience to consider entire, we deem an individual. Thus in the map of a county, we expect to find every individual town and village and river: we may employ an upholder to take a list of every individual piece of furniture in our houses: and speak of a general examining into the state of every individual regiment in his army. For with us an individual is not what cannot be divided, but what we cannot or do not choose to divide.

These individuals may lose their real identity while preserving their apparent, by their parts being successively exchanged for others; sometimes without our perceiving, as is probably the case of plants and animals; and sometimes with our knowledge, as in rivers and winds, whose very essence is incompatible with a real identity. For the essence of a river consists in having a stream, that is, a perpetual change of waters: stop the influx and efflux of water, and it becomes another thing, which you will call a canal. And it is the current of air from one quarter that

makes

makes an east-wind: if the air be stagnant, it is no more an east than a west wind; it is no wind at all, but a calm. So that here a diversity of substance is necessary to constitute the identity of an individual. But we term these individuals, because we cannot separate any component idea without destroying the complex or turning it into some other complex: take away the waters from your river and it is no river but a den or dry ditch; take away the banks and it is a pool or lake or flood.

The clearest idea of a true individual I apprehend may be gotten from the contemplation of ourselves; but then we must take some pains to look for it, for the current conception will not help us. We know one another by our faces and shapes, therefore conceive our bodies to be our persons or selves. If you ask any common man for a description of his person, you will find him including his whole corporeal frame, hair, and nails, and all; which is certainly a very complicated individual containing a multitude of parts. But if you watch men in their ordinary motions, you may perceive them contracting their idea to the parts of their compound severally according to the occasion. When I look, it is I and mine eyes that see, my ears have no concern in the business:

when

when I hear, it is I and mine ears, for mine eyes take no share in the sound: nor do I for that instant apprehend my feet as any part of the person who sees and hears. If anybody desires more upon this topic, let him talk with another nearer relation of mine, one Cuthbert Comment, to whom he may procure an introduction by Mr. Dodsley for a silver shilling.—[*A pamphlet entitled Man in Quest of Himself.*]

9, There is yet a farther separation in many very familar expressions wherein the personal pronouns have a place: and I may say again, because it has been said once by a better man, that the grammatical meaning of those words generally points out the true origin of our ideas primarily annexed to them. Now I might, with propriety of the language current among us, talk of having seen a thing with mine own eyes, heard it with mine ears, pushed with my foot, spoken with my tongue, or paid a tradesman's bill with my own hands. All which phrases imply the idea of our limbs and organs being instruments: for we apply the same preposition to things avowedly so, as I wrote with my pen, I mended it with my pen-knife, I have stopped the bottle with a good cork, I can draw it out again with a screw. In all those phrases of doing or perceiving with our limbs and

organs,

organs, there is a selection of the person distinct from our corporeal frame and every part of it then in our thoughts.

This selected person, which perceives and acts upon all occasions, seems the thing expressed by the word I in its grammatical sense: for it is the same I who see and hear and push and speak and pay bills, although the parts of my body respectively concerned herein are various. Neither does the term denote any of our faculties or some particular exercise of them: for the pronoun Our, grammatically implies a possession distinct from the owner; and in the expression, I slept sound for six hours last night, there is no idea contained of any exercise of the faculties at all. Therefore the pronoun there must denote a Patient, or Being, or existence, not dependent upon the body as a modification, or in my language a substance. And I conceive every body apprehends the word I to signify a true individual without parts, when he uses it in his common discourses, how little soever he may reflect upon his so doing: for if I were to say that one half of me saw a thing with mine eyes while the other half did not, or that in looking at a chess-board one part of me saw the yellow king, another the black, another the queen, another the bishop, and so on of the rest, I believe

believe I should not be understood, nor could any grammatical meaning whatever be found in my words.

10. I have been more prolix and minute upon these points of the individual and of substance, because every now and then I meet with very sensible men, who either slight them as idle curiosities or say they can form no clear conception of them. How clear I have made them by my endeavours in former parts of this work as well as here, must be left to the judgment of others upon making the experiment by perusing me carefully: for I do not pretend to stand exempt from that self-deceit which beguiles us often to think ourselves extremely clear upon matters, wherein others more sagacious see plainly that we are inconsistent or cloudy.

Yet I cannot easily allow them to be matters of trifling import, because from them may be drawn the fullest proof, discoverable by the Light of Nature, of our perpetual duration, and the strongest inducement to examine carefully what is likely to befal us in after times, and what we can do now to secure to ourselves a happy issue then. It will be urged we have a better light by which he who runs may read all the necessary truths concerning those things: but there are people who love to kick about in the sandy deserts

of

of abstraction until they raise a dust which obnubilates that better light. And it is no contemptible service if one can draw such into a train of reasoning, suitable to their taste, which shall corroborate instead of weakening what they had been taught before.

Nor can it take us off from our dependence upon our Maker, for nobody doubts that he who created can annihilate: but when we reflect on his immutability, it must afford us no small evidence of his will that he should continue for ever, to find that he has already given us an unperishable nature. Then it is obvious to every eye that Being is nothing worth without well being, for which we depend entirely upon his goodness and mercy: nor is there even a conjecture to be formed upon our future condition unless from contemplation of the Attributes.

11. Another use springing from the right notion of an individual substance, though perhaps some may not think it a use, is that it has been helpful to me in prosecuting the main design professedly aimed at throughout these, my latter volumes, which was to strike out what might be called either a rational Christianity, or a Christian Philosophy. Now Philosophy proceeds by the study of nature and builds its expectations in futurity upon natural

natural causes. I do not forget it is the common doctrine that future reward and punishment is distributed by the immediate act of God; nor do I desire to controvert it, nor to inculcate any other whenever going forth upon the thigh of flesh, because despairing to make any other method comprehensible to the vulgar. But when standing upon the golden thigh, attentive to the music of the spheres, although I still ascribe all to the act of God, yet it is not his immediate act to be performed hereafter: for he has already so established his laws of nature, as that vice shall naturally lead into misery, and virtue into happiness. Even that greatest of all interpositions, the sacrifice of Christ, operates by turning the courses of nature, from a destructive into a salutary channel, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter. And I have observed that the idea of natural causes slips insensibly into the thoughts of the most orthodox, even in their popular discourses. You can scarce attend a preacher ten times but in some one of them you will hear him urging, amongst other arguments for a holy life, that if we could suppose God to admit a wicked man into heaven, he would be miserable, because, he would find no gratification there for his corrupt appetites, but every thing abhorrent to his gross and carnal taste.

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From hence we may gather the general opinion, safely to be entrusted with the vulgar, that it is of the essence of wickedness to be incapable of tasting the joys of heaven: and it is likewise a general opinion, that wickedness and righteousness may be exchanged for each other, for the wicked may repent and be saved, the saint may fall from his righteousness and be lost. Whence follows unavoidably, what I have remarked in former chapters, that in our distinction between soul and body, we do not make the separation clean, but take some part of the latter into our idea of the former. The rational soul, surviving upon dissolution of the body, and entering into a state of bliss or woe, carries with it a character of righteousness or wickedness, which had been interchangeable with each other during life: therefore, besides the perceptive spirit, must contain an ethereal body or vehicle, wherein the essence of righteousness or wickedness resides; for individuals can never change their essence.

Existence belongs solely to substances, and essence solely to qualities. Even if I were asked for the essence of a substance, I could not describe it otherwise than by the confused idea of a quality of possessing qualities, and of existing independently of them; wherein

wherein it differs from all qualities, which cannot actually subsist, though they may be thought of, without a quale to possess them. It is the essence of matter to be solid, that is, resistant and moveable: it may lie for ages without either resistance or motion for want of something to strike or shove against it, yet retains its capacity of both. It is the essence of spirit to be perceptive: it may remain for ages under a total insensibility for want of objects to perceive, nevertheless continues capable of perception all the while; as we believe ourselves to do during sound sleep, for how sound soever our sleep had been last night, had a pistol been let off in the chamber, we think we should have heard it. Which capacity of resistance and perception are primary properties, given to their respective substances, on their creation and inseparable from them: for neither matter nor spirit, can ever lose its essence, or exchange it for the other while retaining its existence; yet are such essences distinguishable in idea from existence, though few people care to make the distinction.

But there are secondary essences, much more numerous than the primary, resulting from composition, which may be produced, destroyed, renovated, and altered; yet not otherwise than by some change in the sub-

stance

stance of the compound. I will not presume to limit Omnipotence, but I dare pronounce that no created power, or second cause can work a change of essence in any subject, unless by some accession of new parts, or subtraction of old ones, or change of disposition among them: all which cannot take place in individuals which have no parts nor can admit of any. Hence it seems to follow that all perceptive creatures are intrinsically alike, what varieties are found among us of wise and foolish, good and wicked, sedate and giddy, angels, men, and animals, coming to us respectively through the various dispensations of providence ordinary and extraordinary: which I have taken for the basis of my Chapter on Equality. At least I can find no solid evidence of an intrinsic difference, and if there be such it must have been the work of God at our creation. He must then have said, let these spirits be more perceptive than the rest, or have another faculty superior to that of perceptivity: and it was so.

12. But the most important service to be drawn from knowing that person implies an individual substance is the keeping us orthodox upon those two sacred articles, the Trinity and the Logos. I have already shown in my Chapter upon the former, that Person, among the Romans, carried a very different signification from what it does among us;

us; and might have made a good use of the passage in Tully's oration for Sulla, if I had recollected it. The want of being acquainted with this change of meaning, together with the awfulness of the sacred mystery which must be believed in all its branches under pain of damnation, has made our common Christians at the same time both Tritheists and Unitarians, though they do not know of their being the former. For when charged with it they will deny the fact, and sincerely: yet if you watch their ideas in discoursing upon the subject, you may perceive them apprehending the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as much three distinct Gods, as Thomas, John, and Peter, are three distinct men. Nevertheless, they really believe the Unity of the Godhead, and so are made to swallow the camel with the bunch of round contradiction upon his back. In order to escape the mischief of an equivocal term, I crave leave throughout the rest of this Chapter to import the Latin word Persona to stand for the classical sense, appropriating Person to the idea conveyed in common acceptation.

The reader will now perceive me entering upon my subject, from which it is likely he has thought me wandering all this while. I have never forgotten it, nor ceased making towards it as fast as I could; but there started

up

up a crowd of objections and difficulties in the way, which, like so many independent freeholders kept pushing and punching and terrifying me about, so that I have been forced to twist and twine over a great deal more ground than had otherwise been needful. And now I am gotten into the open road, another danger presents. For I see the mitred coach coming rolling along, with the quadripartite discourse upon Phil. ii. 6, to 11, peeping out at the window. It is drawn by six stout horses, named Divinity and Learning for the wheel pair, Acuteness and Smartness at the pole end, Oratory and Elegance for the leaders. It drives in a track so near me that I am afraid lest my little chair, lugged along by the one horse Puzzle, should hitch upon some of the wheels: which alarms me greatly, for that strong-built carriage is one of the last I would venture to hit against. I wish the same masterly hand who has helped me so well off with Mr. Locke, could find room to do me the like kind office with my late much-honoured Pastor. But a remedy cannot be applied until the particulars of the complaint are known: so I shall proceed to draw out my thoughts with the sober freedom and honest Persona of a Search, unconscious of any evil intention or hostile disposition, which might constitute me the true object of

that species of punishment called blame or censure.

13. I shall take for my text some of the first verses in St. John's Gospel, which it is but within these few weeks I have seemed to myself to understand. I had touched the clue in my Chapter on the Trinity, but could never catch hold of it, so as to guide me through the labyrinth till now. By the *Word*, I do not apprehend St. John understood a distinct Substance, or Agent, or Person, the same with Jesus Christ, but employed it as a figurative term well known among the Jews and primitive Christians. Whose manner of figuration being different from our own, it seems expedient to introduce our explanation of an ancient figure by the example of a modern; and because a man is likely to talk clearest upon what he is best acquainted with, I shall take my rise from my own works.

As I am a great personifier, I have, in the prelude to my Chapter on Charity, addressed that virtue as a person in the following words. Well may I style thee everlasting, for thy years are not to be counted, nor of thy Being is there beginning or end. Thou wast with God before the Worlds were made, coeval with the Attributes: thy mild persuasions moved him to create: it was they first prompted infinite Wisdom to contrive, and employed

ployed Omnipotence to execute the glorious, universal Plan.

In all these preludes I write under inspiration of the slender stripling Genius, for mine is but a slender spark; and had he happened to dictate the latter part of the passage above-cited in a different turn of phrase, as thus, By thee were all things created: thou in his presence and with his approbation employedst infinite wisdom, &c. I do not imagine the old grey-beard, Judgment, whom I always desire to stand at our elbows upon these occasions, would have rebuked him: for he must have known that our countrymen would enter readily into the spirit of the figure without hazard of their taking us literally. But supposing that we lived interspersed among heathens, and that many of our Christians were converts newly brought over, used to a plurality of Gods; there might then be a danger of their mistaking the Goddess Charity for a distinct Deity independent on the Supreme. Still he might let the passage stand, only would think proper to subjoin a note of his own hand to this effect. Now I desire it may be understood I do not mean by Charity an Agent or Being operating in the creation, but an Attribute denoting that God created in his infinite Goodness and Mercy.

14. The grave gentleman might suggest,

too that the doctrine of final causes, of which Goodness is the ultimate, was the only clue for leading into a right understanding of the Divine Economy, the knowledge whereof would secure us peace of mind, that principal source of happiness, without which life is not life. This his pupil might express by saying Charity was the light and the life. Then he would recollect of his own accord, for the chit has a pretty good memory in things hitting his fancy, that people are sometimes called by the name of a quality they possess in an eminent degree, as that such a one is innocence itself, or patience itself, and that in some of the classic writers it is said of a fine woman, when dressed out she is beautiful, when in undress she is beauty itself. And having been taught early by his mother Mnemosyne to read the Testament, wherein is manifested the transcendant Goodness of Christ, to do and suffer so much for the sake of mankind, he might think it no improper appellation for the Saviour to style him love or charity itself. Having hit upon this thought he might pursue it a little further by adding, that Charity clothed herself with flesh, and descended in a visible form to converse among mankind.

But as the little urchin is imitative as well as inventive, if he should attempt to copy the simplicity of Gospel style, old Vigilant would

would certainly take him to task, telling him, Look ye, child, I cannot suffer such a playful wanton to take what liberties you please with the sacred oracles. Remember what a blunder you committed with Stahl. I will never hazard a prophanation of the Scriptures by mimicry: so if you will take any thing from thence, you must do it in the very words recorded there. The most I can allow you is to substitute a modern figure in the room of an ancient, where you can find the same language applicable to both. Under this restriction, together with the admonitions and instructions given above, I suppose the boy might run on as follows.

In the beginning was Charity, and Charity was before [the face of] God, and God was Charity. The same in the beginning was before God. All things were made by her, and without her was not made a single thing which was made. In her was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shone in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. That was the true light which enlighteneth every man coming into the world. She was in the world, and the world was made by her, and the world knew her not. As many as received her, to them gave she a capacity of being begotten the children of God, to such as confide in her name-

name. And Charity was made flesh, and pitched her tent among us, full of benignity and truth. And we beheld her glory, the glory as of an only child before the Father.

Perhaps the English reader will charge my boy with taking liberties, notwithstanding the admonition given him to forbear: but I appeal to the Greek reader whether our translators have not taken greater liberties, particularly by transposing, God was the Word, into, the Word was God, which is not quite so easily susceptible of the construction put upon it above. Nor am I conscious of having altered any thing in the text, other than the figure, except one little transposition in the last verse, to escape the old-fashioned style of a parenthesis; and addition of, The face of, in the first Verse, which was a needful and explanatory paraphrase, to prevent before being understood of time instead of place. Therefore if there is a change, Mr. Locke must allow it was not I, but some other Persona, who made it.

15. If any body asks me, Do I believe that Charity was meant by the Word? he must have forgotten that I produced it as a new figure introductory to an understanding of the old one, not as directly explanatory thereof. For I do not take it to be any Attribute: the nearest of them is that of Wisdom,

dom, yet the Word seems to denote rather a particular production of Wisdom than the Attribute itself. The learned, in treating upon this subject, choose to retain the original term of Logos, well knowing it is susceptible of more various significations than the English, Word, some of which will not bear translating thereinto. I am not well enough versed in ancient authors to display this variety by quotations from the old dons of Greece, and if I tried to rummage out a few by help of Scapula, it might not much edify the English reader. But it happens very fortunately that here is no occasion: for Logos makes its appearance so often among us, and finds a place in so many of our words, only transformed after the modern fashion into Logy, that I can let my countrymen into the secret without making them hurt their eyes by poring upon the nasty crooked letters.

Sometimes Logos is words, as in philology, tautology, etymology; sometimes the structure of them, as in phraselogy; sometimes a particular manner of speaking, as in eulogy and elogy, which are the speaking well and speaking out or highly of a man. In apology it is throwing off or obviating a censure; in doxology, a form of thanksgiving; analogy is the similitude or correspondence of particulars

culars between things; logic is the art of reasoning, and the logical worship is rendered reasonable service in Rom. xii. 1. Astrology is the pretended knack of telling fortunes by the stars; zoology, the knowledge of animals, their species, forms, and names; meteorology and minerology, that of vapours and fossils; ontology, physiology, and theology, are sciences; genealogy and chronology can scarcely be called sciences, being no more than memorials or plans of lineages and alliances, or of events recorded in history in order of time as they happened. This last I take to be the sense belonging to the Logos of St. John, craving leave to give it a new name manufactured out of Grecian materials; and as Genealogy is the plan of descents in a family, so I would call this Soterialogy or the Plan of Salvation.

This plan formed in the eternal counsels of God, I apprehend, represented throughout the Gospel as taken by him for his guidance in the first formation and subsequent administration of the moral world. It was necessary for the execution of it that man should be made a peccable creature, for there could have been no Salvation where there was no sinfulness to be saved from; and that there should be a remedy provided for the recovery from his lapsed state by means of the seed

who

who was to bruise the serpent's head. Christ therefore, who by another figure is called the Corner Stone of the Building, was the point whereto all the preceding lines of the Soterialogy converged, and from whence they diverged again afterwards for diffusing righteousness among mankind, and as I have argued in my Chapter on Economy and in the last Chapter, will continue diverging through our next stage of Being, until the final consummation of all things, when the kingdom shall be delivered up to the Father.

16. Christ, therefore, being the centre and principal object in the plan, is called the Word, by a metonymy of a part for the whole; the same figure whereby we frequently speak of so many hands on board a ship, or of a general taking a town. By this light we may see how Christ is the Wisdom of God and the Power of God, which by the Greeks was counted foolishness; and discern the full scope of St. Paul's meaning, where he determines to know nothing save Christ and him crucified, for nobody can doubt that he did desire to know and to teach the whole of the Soterialogy. His first eleven Chapters to the Romans appear to be wholly occupied in teaching this science (for though it was but a plan before God, the study of it is become a difficult science among men:) and to set right

right the Jews, who had misapprehended it as running in a multitude of forms and ceremonies with a temporal monarch for their centre. And in the rest of that Epistle he pursues some other lines in the hinder part of the same plan, drawn for spreading righteousness upon earth. Therefore when he confines himself to the knowledge of Christ, in whom all the promises of God, that is, the eternal counsels laid down in the plan, are yea and amen, he means no more than to disclaim all pretence to rhetoric and human science, or the vain babblings of Philosophy: nevertheless, if Philosophy can furnish any thing in confirmation or illustration of the Soterialogy, I do not imagine he would call her a vain babbler.

Among the Jews and primitive Christians derived from them, it was customary to pursue their figures much farther than would be allowable or intelligible among us. By this means we sometimes quite lose the resemblance, and understand them literally when speaking figuratively. We find Christ called the Word upon occasions where the figure does not appear: so we take them for synonymous terms, personifying the latter, and making it a distinct agent or person from God, but the same with Christ. This involves us in perpetual obscurities and contradictions, and so mangles

mangles our Religion as to disfigure it quite, laying it open to attacks, of which we may say, Pudet hœc opprobria nobis, et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli, It is shameful to find both that such reproaches can be cast upon us, and we not able to wipe them off.

Whereas we should consider that the name Christ is a complex term, comprehending he human body and soul of Jesus together with God the Son united thereto, as set forth in the last Chapter: and this third part, though a distinct Persona, is the very same individual Person with the Father who created all things visible and invisible, and with the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth me, says the Catechumen, and all the elect people of God. Therefore the work of creation being, as observed in my Chapter on the Trinity, within the peculiar province of the Persona, called Father, Christ could not in any sense be the agent or operator in creating. He could at most, by help of the hard-featured metonymy abovementioned, be styled the Word by which, or according to the scheme whereof, all things were made: and by the like far-fetched metonymy of taking the whole for a part, he may be said to have come down from the Father, been made flesh, or embodied in Jesus, and pitched his tent among us.

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This seems the only way for effectually taking the admonition of Athanasius against either dividing the substance or confounding the Personæ; and this I apprehend, may help to unfold that great mystery, which Saint Paul says had lain hidden for ages, proving a stumbling block to the Jews, and counted foolishness by the Greeks, until revealed in Christ, and which contained the spirit piercing through the dead letter, whereby the disciples were enlightened to a clear comprehension of things the carnal man could never know because they are spiritually discerned. Nor can we desire a better clue than the Soterialogy for leading us safely through several dark passages in the Scriptures wherein there has been much confusion and wandering, particularly Saint John's introduction to his Gospel.

He is going to give a history of Christ's ministry upon earth: this he ushers in by a brief account, in the concise apostolic simplicity of what occasioned his coming; which was, the original constitution of mankind established upon a plan or word, something similar to Pythagoras's oath of Jove, regulating the courses of all events which were to follow. This word was before God, that is, God held it in contemplation before him, as we hold a paper of directions before us what

when we would proceed in exact conformity thereto.

17. Then, the Word was God, upon which such mighty stress has been laid to prove the divinity of Christ as a distinct Person from the Father, if read as in the original, God was the Word, will appear inserted purposely to prevent the notion of a distinct actor, by declaring that God himself was the Agent proceeding to creation in pursuance of his Word; and we may presume this little sentence was thrown in for the sake of the Gentile converts, who having been accustomed to the notion of twelve greater Gods, whom one may style the Senate, or supreme Legislature of Heaven, might have fancied St. John only reduced them to two, and by the Lógos understood another God, like Minerva, the daughter and first-begotten of Jupiter.

The three first verses are supposed by some to speak of matters passing before this visible world had a Being, as the creation of angels and hierarchies of heaven; and to prove the eternity of the Word, coeval with God. But though I have said the plan was laid in the eternal counsels of God, I gather this by the light of nature from his immutability, which will not permit me to imagine him striking out new plans on a sudden, which

which he had never thought of before. I cannot infer it from the expression, In the beginning was the Word, which in my apprehension contains nothing prior to this sublunary system. For St. John had nothing of the preadamite belonging to him: nor did he meddle with the babblings of philosophy running out into speculations concerning a Chaos, the grave of a former nature, and womb of the present. His business lay solely with his fellow-creatures upon earth, to transmit his master's doctrines for their benefit in the plainess of a Gospel-writer: so that he cannot with any plausibility be supposed to carry his thoughts any further back than to the formation of Man, the forbidden fruit, and the promised seed; and with him the beginning was the entering upon those first dispensations leading to that of the Christian.

18. Then for the all things which were made, I can extend them no further than to all the courses of Providence respecting the moral world, and scheme of the Redemption. If any body insists that the courses of nature were appointed with a reference to the others, I feel no repugnance against agreeing with him: nor do I doubt the animals, and plants, and other material works were performed with a view to the uses of man. The trees of knowledge

knowledge and of life, the condition of Paradise, and curse of God upon the ground, have a visible connection with the moral economy. Or if it be insisted further, that the higher orders of creatures have a concern in the events befalling Man, I can make no objection here neither, without recanting what I have endeavoured to maintain in a former Volume; as believing that every line in the divine plans, nearly or remotely connects with every other, and affects the interests of every creature. But this is another larger plan, which we may call the pantology, or plan of universal nature, comprehending all the works of God visible and invisible, whereof the Soterialogy was a part. It is a very telescopic idea, tending greatly to enlarge the mind; wherefore, I am willing to entertain as much of it as I can hold in my imagination.

But Saint John never troubled himself with physiology, astronomy, metaphysics, nor the laws of universal nature. He, we may presume, had determined with his brother Paul to know nothing save Christ and the Soterialogy: therefore we can expect nothing from him but what relates immediately thereto. And this manifests the wisdom of choosing such simple men for Apostles of a Gospel which was to be preached to the poor. We philosophizing folks cannot forbear mingling our

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own discoveries among the Christian verities: we may be serviceable herein to one another, but are by no means fit for preaching to the poor; nor indeed for preaching at all, unless to congregations very rarely to be met with, who have golden thighs to stand upon, and ears to hear the music of the spheres like ourselves.

I have remarked already that the Word is frequently applied as an appellative to its central point; and I may add, that is is sometimes used promiscuously in both senses of the whole and of a part, in such manner as makes it difficult to distinguish in which sense each particular expression ought to be understood. But here I apprehend the metonymy first takes place at the 8th verse. The world said to be made by him, I suppose is commonly understood in the sense it bears generally in familiar discourse, including all sublunary productions, whether rational, animal, or inanimate. But we often use it in a much more restrained sense, as when we exhort a retired person to converse a little more in the world, or talk of publishing a thing to the world, or telling it to all the world. And it appears evident that St. John took it in some such confined signification; first, because it is not true that the light did enlighten every man who came into the

the world in China, or Tartary, or America: in the next place, because the 11th verse seems an explanatory repetition of the 10th, received him not, certainly carries the same force with knew him not: and we may presume the world in one verse explained by His own in the other. Therefore it was the world of Jews which was made by, or through, or for sake of him, for I humbly apprehend the preposition will bear translating so; that is, the Mosaic law was given purely to introduce and prepare for the evangelical.

19. To those who received him he gave a capacity of being begotten the children of God: and in the 13th verse, they were begotten, not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Here is a variety of begettings: the Israelites were begotten of bloods in the plural, that is, their bloody sacrifices, a metonymy for the whole ceremonial law; some of them were begotten by the rectitude of will and good principles, or expectations derived from their ancestors from whom they were descended in the flesh; others, not Israelites, were begotten by the happy disposition of mind in the man, as those antediluvians mentioned by Milton, whose religious lives titled them the sons of God, and so the sons of Belial spoken of in the Old Testament were

begotten by their wicked dispositions, but the believing disciples were begotten by the special Providence of God bringing them to the knowledge of the Word, which gave them a capacity of such generation.

If you object that the negative annexed to the three first implies they were no begettings at all, for which I see no grounds, yet you cannot reject the last. So it still appears that in the Apostle's sense, God had begotten more children than one Therefore when one is styled in verse 14, the only begotten of the Father, it must be from some peculiar manner of begetting whereof the other children did not partake. And what that was may be gathered from a word in the same sentence, which directs our eyes to behold the glory, or estimation, or consequence which none other can come up to, and wherein he was singular. Observe further, that he is styled the first begotten in several places of Scripture, which implies that others were begotten in the same manner of generation. But this I conceive relates to the state of perfection and glory whereto Christians hope one day to be raised, when they shall become one with Christ in Personæ, though still distinct in Person: and then he will be the first begotten who was the only begotten before; as every only child becomes an eldest child,

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as soon as another is born of the same parents. And this is further confirmed by the text wherein he is styled the first born of every creature, where creature must not be taken in the common acceptation, including all mankind, but of the new creature by regeneration: and is sometimes rendered building or edification, to denote that state of perfection and unsinning obedience, whereto the Saints will be raised gradually in this life and the next, by building improvement upon improvement.

Should it be admitted the flesh denotes a particular lineage, as St. Paul makes it do when he distinguishes the Jews by calling them his brethren in the flesh; for the Gentiles were as much his brethren in the flesh, if that term signifies an investiture in human nature, then the expression, was made flesh, and pitched his tent among us, must mean no more than was made one of the flesh, or Jacob's lineage and lived all his time in Judea.

20. One little remark I have omitted concerning, Cometh into the World, in the 9th verse: which cannot mean, Born into the World, for children who go out again in the month have no display of the light before them: therefore it must be construed, Comes to converse in the World, or to know what passes there. This the Jews would naturally

understand of their own tenets, as we should do now of the Christian established among our people in general, which a man cannot come into the world but he must quickly hear what they are.

These things being premised, I shall hazard an attempt to guess how St. John would have expressed himself had he been writing now, and to Christians: adhering to the ancient simplicity as near as possible, though I cannot undertake to do it entirely without slipping in a word now and then from the modern style.

Prior to Adam was the Word: and the Word was ever before God: and it was the Word of his mouth. From the beginning God departed not at any time from the Word which he had spoken. By it were all his dispensations made: and without it was not any one of them made which was made. In it was life: for the light of the mind is life unto men. And the light brake forth upon men of dark understandings, and their darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for an evidence unto them, that he might bear evidence of the light. He was not the light himself, but came to point out the object wherein the light was to be found, that they might rest their dependence thereon.

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This was the true light, which is displayed to every man who cometh out into the world. He was in the world, and the world was fashioned by him, as the shoemaker fashioneth a shoe by the foot; and the world knew him not. He came unto his own peculiar people, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he means of becoming the children of God by the new birth; to such as confided in his name. Their birth was not by ceremonies, nor by descent in a peculiar lineage, nor by their human powers, but by special Providence of God. And the word was made visible in one of the chosen lineage, and dwelt among them, abounding in love and truth. And such of them as had eyes beheld his glory, the glory as of an only child in the sight of the father.

21. Thus much for the Evangelist: I come now to consider the epistle to the Philippians. Archbishop Tillotson and the bishop have both given up the vulgate translation, thought it no robbery to be equal with God: and the latter has substituted in its room, was not fond, or tenacious, of appearing as God. But why his lordship should afterwards change his own translation into, Did not eagerly retain his equality with God, I cannot tell. Not that I am going to deny there are evidences of such equality elsewhere in the Scriptures;

Scriptures; for I know it is the orthodox opinion that they are to be found, and it is my custom to presume every thing true that was taught me, until, upon mature consideration I see, cogent reasons to think otherwise. I am only acknowledging my own want of discernment to find a proof in the words of the text before us. As well as I remember Homer applies Isotheos to people whom he did not esteem equal to the Gods: and in the parable of the woman who had seven husbands, I never heard of any body rendering Isangeloi equal to the Angels. Therefore if Isa Theo be susceptible of both senses, Equal or Like, it must be determined to either by the context and drift of the argument.

I readily enter into the justness of his lordship's reasoning that what Christ was not tenacious of must be something he had a title to claim, and been in possession of before: and what was that but the form of God? Which we may understand by the form of a slave mentioned presently afterwards. He never was a real slave, nor reduced to a state of slavery, but submitted to be treated like one, and died the death that slaves were put to when convicted of capital crimes: therefore cannot by this be proved real God, but honored as God.

Had his lordship adhered to his first version,

sion, the passage had run on all of a piece: for form, appearance as, likeness, and fashion, I take to be synonymous terms, introduced only to vary the phrase. If a piece of French plate be made exactly in the likeness of a silver mug, it must have the form, and fashion, and appearance of that. When God made Man in his own likeness, he did not thereby make him equal to himself: and when it was said to Moses, thou shalt be a God unto Aaron and he shall be thy prophet, he was then in the form of God, yet without participating of the divine nature.

22. The Messiah was chosen in the eternal counsels of God to be the principal object in his great plan of the soterialogy, the restorer of mankind from the way of utter perdition to that of righteousness and eternal life. And this I apprehend alluded to in that passage, Father, glorify me with thine own self, the glory I had with thee before the foundations of the world. His name was had in high honour and reverence among men from the beginning. He was esteemed to centre in himself the three most respected characters of king, priest, and prophet, to be the redeemer of Israel, the blessing of all nations, the seed that should bruise the serpent's head, the Emmanuel, or God with us. These were high and divine honours, and to whomsoever they

they belonged, he might well be said to be in the form of God.

His conception was announced by an angel: his birth declared by a choir of angels: his star appeared in the East, filling the Magians there with exceeding great joy, and bringing them a long journey with precious offerings in their hands to worship him: the spirit of piety inspired Simeon upon sight of him to burst out in transport, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

In all this he appeared as God. This then was the appearance he was not tenacious of retaining, the form he emptied himself of. Which expressions exclude an equality by having the divine nature joined with the human: because this he was tenacious of retaining to the last, he never emptied himself of. He could not do it: it would have defeated the purpose of his coming to have done it: for had he been a mere man when suffering upon the cross, we should have been never the better for him.

It as an axiom of the schools that nothing like is the same: therefore, the likeness of men cannot belong to the assumption of human nature, for that gave him the real essence of a man, made him the same thing. But I take it the likeness relates to his laying aside

aside all dignity, and conversing among publicans and sinners like a common man. From this humble state, as the bishop observes with great advantage to St. Paul's argument, he descended another step still lower by taking upon him the form of a slave, submitting unto death, even the death of the cross: which went so much against the grain that he prayed with agonies, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me. Nevertheless, with the submissiveness of a slave, he became obedient in this hard service to the Will of the Father.

23. Wherefore, as St. Paul goes on in pursuit of his topic, God hath also exalted him. I do not know whether any stress may be laid upon the preposition joined in composition with the original verb, which seems to denote an over-exalting, or raising to a higher state than he stood in before, but certainly the exaltation, to make it an encouragement to humility in the Philippians, must be a reward greater than what had been laid down. Therefore, it cannot relate either to a real equality or the estimation of one; for then it must have been an exaltation to a nature, greater or esteemed greater than that of God himself.

Besides, the next verb Hath given, which might be more fully expressed by Hath gratified,

tified, implies a free donation, not a restitution of something whereto the party had a prior title: yet in this case seems to import a gratuity of the same kind, though higher in degree, with the thing departed from: therefore, it must be a dignity of name, or character of Christ or Logos, which he emptied himself of, and was not tenacious of retaining, because he was gratified with a name above all names; so that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that our Master Jesus is the Christ; for so the words might be more fairly rendered than that Jesus Christ is Lord, as any one may be satisfied by consulting Mr. Locke's notes upon the appellation, Lord. 1 Cor. viii, 5.

It is not easy to guess what was meant by things in heaven, or things under the earth. It cannot relate to the angels, for they have no knees to bow: they may put them on when sent upon errands to earth, as we do boots upon a journey, but it does not appear at all likely that they ever wear them at home. Nor were they ignorant that Jesus was Christ, even during his lowest state of humiliation.

No more can it relate to the devils: St. Paul, be sure, had no faith in Pluto and his subterraneous host, neither did he preach the modern doctrine of devils living in a burning

ing cavern somewhere under ground. They are called in Scripture style princes of the air, and powers of the air. Nor yet do they honour the name of Jesus now more than they used to do heretofore, but dishonour him wherever they can, as much as ever by perplexing the minds of Christians daily with absurd, enthusiastic, and unchristian fancies, and tempt them into all kinds of impurity, contention, and malice.

It seems the most probable conjecture, that bowing the knee answers to the very vulgar expression of knocking under, and imports that at the name of Jesus every other name shall stand eclipsed: whether those of the blessed Spirits currently believed among the Jews to reside in Heaven: such as Enoch, Abraham, and Elijah; or of persons illustrious for exploits not likely to raise them to Heaven from out their graves and sepulchres under ground, as Nebuchadonosar, Alexander, and Cæsar; or of princes and potentates, and men famous in any science, or art, or accomplishment upon earth.

This we have seen verified down to our own times, for we know how sacred the name of Jesus is holden throughout the most enlightened, though not largest, part of the globe from him called Christendom: and that more than one worthless creature has gained a dominion over nations, and kings, and emperors,

emperors, merely by pretending to be his vicar.

24. It will be worth while to bestow a little thought in examining how this exaltation came to be so desirable a reward in the eyes of the meek and humble Jesus as to make him endure the cross, and despise the shame for the joy that was set before him. It has occurred to me formerly that this seemed representing him over-run with vanity and ambition, that he should be ready to do and suffer any thing for sake of an unbounded popularity among men and angels, and making all other the highest dignities crouch under him. But when I reflected on the importance of his having such a name, and the principal line of his character, my scruple instantly vanished.

We have seen in the last Chapter, that the authority of his name is the channel through which the benefits of his sacrifice flow upon mankind: it is the power operating unto salvation, keeping the Church steady to his Religion, and enabling her members to attain that righteousness which is of faith therein. So that it was not the name, but the inestimable consequences of it, which exhibited the joyful prospect before him. Then upon turning our eyes to the character of our Saviour, whose ruling passion, if I may

may be pardoned the term, was a glowing charity towards God and towards Man, who came into the world to save sinners, to give himself a ransom for many, to whom it was meat and drink to do the Will of the Father, who sought not his own glory, but the glory of him that sent him; we cannot imagine a reward more worthy of him, nor a gratuity more acceptable to such a temper.

For by the sacredness of his name he was enabled to rescue the race of men from utter perdition, and display the glory of God before all the hosts of Heaven, to whom the great pantology, or plan of universal nature laid down in the courses of events dependent upon second causes, had appeared imperfect. They saw the introduction of evil, and a lapsed race of creatures, was made necessary to sustain their own happiness: but how the soterialogy was to be compleated by the restoration of that race, remained a mystery, which they stooped earnestly down to look into, lying hidden in the secret counsels of God, until revealed in the humiliation and consequent exaltation of Christ.

Let us then, in gratitude to our deliverer and prudence to ourselves, labour all we can to preserve that name unsullied, and beware of an indiscreet extravagant zeal which might give occasion for the adversary to blaspheme by

by saying that we rob the Father of his creation in compliment to the Son, and that we can support the honour of his name upon none other foundation than contradictions and assertions impossible to be understood. What language might be proper in former centuries, or how they might understand it, cannot easily be ascertained: but now in this age of freedom, nothing inconsistent or unintelligible can be received with honour. Wherefore it behoves us strongly to purify our system from every thing carrying an appearance of that sort, which might give a handle for exceptions: and with this spirit I have endeavoured to guide myself throughout this and the preceding Chapters.

25. There are other passages of Scripture in his Lordship's discourse, that possibly might be travelled through by the help of the same clue, which will bear twisting up with the line of reason, and both together form so strong a thread as all the strength and artifice of the freethinker could not break asunder. But it does not fall within the compass of this Chapter to consider them: for I have no desire to measure swords with so great a champion, whom Homer would think deserving the appellation of Ισόθεος Φῶς, a godlike soul possessed of χέιρας ἀάπτους, the hands whose grasp one dares not hazard, and Cicero admit

admit to an equal share of the title he claimed to himself in confidence with Atticus of κρείττονα μήσωρα λόγοιο, a powerful artificer of language. I had none other view than to corroborate my exposition of St. John by the passage in St. Paul, who seems to have proceeded upon a similar idea. And I have the happiness to agree with his lordship in this opinion, though to my mortification we have delineated the resemblance in strokes that I fear will not exactly coincide.

Now should another Edwards do me the honour to make another Mr. Locke of me by calling out, Racovian! he would give me little disturbance. Whether I am Racovian or no, I cannot tell, because not knowing what tenets passed current in Racovia; nor if I did should I reject them merely upon that account, until finding them to my own thinking unsound. If a native of that place coming here believed London bigger than Islington, I should not alter my opinion either to please Edwards or vex the stranger. When the devils declared, we know thee: thou art the Son of God: I should not be ashamed to join with the devils upon that article.

The Persona of a neutral which I have assumed in this seventh volume, the better to keep up my credit with both parties and thereby

thereby bring on a reconcilement between Religion and Reason, requires me to go on calmly and carefully my own way without regard to what other people believe or disbelieve, any farther than as an admonition to consider the matter more maturely. I do not set up for an advocate of the Christian doctrines determined to support them at all events; but a fair and unprejudiced enquirer into what they are. Neither do I meddle with the external evidences, for they lie in the fields of ecclesiastical history beyond my reach: my business is only with the internal, and to lay them clearly open to inspection, rather than to enforce them. Therefore I have pursued the scheme of Reason, by the light of Nature, as far as I could in my former volumes, and some first chapters of this: and in the remainder of my course am endeavouring to discover what the Gospel teaches, and with what spirit the true interpretation may be found; the better to enable my countrymen to judge for themselves of the doctrine, whether it be from God.

26. In all my speculations how much soever they may have seemed matters of curiosity, I have constantly kept an eye to use, though perhaps nothing more than an eye, without being able to lend a helping hand; and in each of them to some particular

cular use. Even my sallies of sprightliness are not wanton gambols; they help my purpose of gaining some credit with one party. For the freethinker lays down for a rule that every man loves a joke, who is able to make one: therefore all your serious people must be humdrum fellows, because if they had the least taste for ridicule they could not fail of seeing the absurdity of old saws esteemed sacred. And here he agrees with his farthest opposite, the enthusiast, in holding that to be a good Christian, one must throw aside all one's understanding, and all one's humour. Now I want to show him that other folks can flourish about, and jest as well as he: that without pecking at the Bible, they can find matters to joke upon elsewhere, sometimes in his own sweet self: and that it is not necessary the old saws should fall into contempt with a man as soon as he ceases to be a humdrum.

In both cases, whether of close combat or light-horse skirmish, there is the appearance of some important post before me, which directs or beguiles me to push forward. This dissertation upon the Logos, upon Person and Persona, exhibits a prospect of doing two services. The one, for removing those insuperable difficulties in making a satisfactory defence against the cavils of the scoffer, aris-

ing from the doctrine, that it was the person of Christ, distinct from that of God, who was the operator in the creation. The other for preventing those enthusiastic, and I might say idolatrous, notions perpetually inculcated among the Methodists, who in the fondness of their passion for Christ, extol him above the Father, and would have us place our whole dependence upon ecstatic acts of faith in his name, to the utter contempt and neglect of that degree of righteousness, attainable by faith, which was the purpose and end of his mission.

When the doctrine of all things made by Christ is daily pressed upon the thoughts by lectures, hymns, prayers, meditations, and sweetly-written books, what kind of conceptions must it produce? You may make what nice distinctions you please between the divine and human natures in Christ, the plain Christian cannot follow them: he knows nothing of your Latin Persona, but to him the two natures will blend together in one Person, composing one individual substance: and as he takes his ideas of other people from their outward figure, so whenever he hears mention of Christ making the world, he will have the idea of a human body, with legs and arms, very improper instruments for creation, or even for making out of pre-existent materials,

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as being incapable of reaching to all parts of this terraqueous globe. Therefore he will fancy the figure of a man, hovering in the air with a creative power, in the abstract, going out from his fingers or mouth: which must prepare his imagination to receive all kinds of magic, and conjuration, and fairy wonders, if he should ever fall into company where they are chimed with the same vehemence and assiduity as practised by his godly teachers.

It may be sometimes expedient to connivè at misapprehensions of the vulgar, for I have said upon a former occasion, that the same notion may be Religion in one man which would be superstition in another: but it must always be mischievous to cultivate and expatiate upon them. I have aimed to steer the course least productive of misconceptions: it is likely some oversights have escaped me, and certain that an addition may be made to what is here presented. The distinction between Person and Persona will not answer every purpose, this latter term still fluctuating among various senses, which therefore require a subdivision to range them under their several classes. For I presume Cicero had the same consciousness all along while under his two different Personæ of severity and mildness; and so had Jesus together with his triple Persona

of king, priest, and prophet, his form of God, likeness of man, form of a slave, and exaltation to a name above all names: neither do I imagine the Personæ of the Trinity exactly similar to any of those just now specified.

It may happen that some more skilful performer will take hints from hence to draw out a correcter and fuller explanation, which shall contain nothing appearing either to shock Reason, or wound Religion, in the most scrupulous eyes. The more the vulgar can be taken off from knotty points, so much the better: nor do I believe they ever think of them unless urged thereto by the wrong-headed or such who have none other way of making themselves popular and important. The material points to be generally inculcated seem to be the belief of the Scriptures being the Word of God, and a reliance solely upon Christ, and his Religion for attaining the righteousness needful for their future interests. These points I have taken my best pains to secure in the last Chapter, and laboured to remove what might endanger that security in the present.

CHAP. XXIII.

SACRAMENTS.

THERE has lately been some difference among doctors concerning the nature and efficacy of these sacred rites, wherein I am so far from intending to take part on either side, that I have not so much as made myself well acquainted with the state of the controversy: therefore if what is here offered shall prove favourable or displeasing to the litigants, it will be purely accidental, nor will any of them have cause either to thank or be wrathful with me for intermeddling. For I shall still, as heretofore, proceed quietly my own way, without the spirit of opposition or partiality, collecting whatever occuring to my thoughts may appear pertinent to the subject upon the best exercise of my judgment. The province I have professed to undertake is that of human reason, by which must be meant my own reason: for so every man who talks of reason ought to be understood if he speaks sincerely, because he cannot have jurisdiction in any province further than the scanty limits of his own understanding.

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Being apprized of this, I shall not presume to dictate, nor demonstrate, nor venture to say, which last is the modern phrase for the most confident assertion, nor even wish any body to adopt a sentiment of mine until he finds it agreeable to his own judgment: for were the thing I suggest ever so right, yet if he does not see the justness of it with his own eyes, he will not apprehend it rightly, and it will do him no good. And if I chance to fall into mistakes introductive of mischiefs I do not foresee, for others I shall be very careful to guard against, there are not wanting able champions enow to prevent their taking effect by giving warning to the unwary. But reason being my province, it is obvious I have nothing to do with the evidences proving those rites to be of divine institution, which cannot be fetched from the storehouse of human reason: therefore taking such institution for granted, I shall make it my business to consider what rational idea can be entertained of them, their design and effects, presuming that if such can be found, it is the genuine and true one.

Now in order to know how our Church expresses herself on them, we need only have recourse to the Catechism, which we have all learned, and perhaps most of us forgotten again, yet we may presently borrow a book

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to refresh our memory: wherein we shall find a sacrament defined to be an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof. Now a sign we know is ordinarily an indication only of something happening: when the weather-glass falls we think it a sign it will rain; when on looking through the window, we see the women pulling their handkerchiefs over their heads, we take this for a sign that it is beginning to rain: but neither the mercury nor the handkerchiefs, can have any influence upon the clouds to bring down their contents, being declarative only, not productive, of an event befallen or to befal. But there are other signs, which are not discoveries of something unknown, but admonitions of something slipt out of mind: as when you make signs with your finger to a person who through mere inconsiderateness is going to blurt out a secret he knows well enough to be one.

The sacramental signs I apprehend are of the latter sort: as signs they are not efficient causes of any external event that may concern us, and as monitory signs they are not declarations of any operation performed upon us: but being ordained by Christ himself, the sight of them solemnly administered serves

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naturally to impress a strong remembrance of him, and remind us of the inestimable benefits received by his procurement. Hence follows that there is nothing conjured down into the elements on consecration, nor have they any quality, power, or property different from other elements employed in common uses; and the priest, agreeable to his title of minister, acts ministerially, not authoritatively herein, declaring or expressing a former act of Christ, not performing an act of his own: neither can we expect to receive any other benefit from them, than what effect the sight and the ceremony may work upon the heart and imagination.

And the term pledge may lead us into the like train, for though we often use the word for an earnest given to bind a bargain, or a deposit left in pawn for performance of an engagement, yet, it is likewise employed by persons, who, intending considerable favours to another, but being apprehensive he may doubt of their sincerity or remembrance, give him some little thing in hand as a pledge of their kindness, and to satisfy him they will keep their word: to which latter sense the expression of our Church directs us by calling it a pledge, not to secure, but to assure us thereof. In like manner when God is said to bind himself by an Oath, it is in reality

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no security, for if he were disposed to break it, we could not help ourselves as a man might who receives an earnest or deposit, but a certain assurance leaving no room for doubt.

Now assurance is a state of the mind, which it may be cast into by sensible objects, working a lively and vigorous persuasion of what we know in our judgment well enough before, but had a very faint sense of in the imagination: therefore the Sacraments are not evidences to convince, nor conveyances to put us into possession of any thing promised, but methods for turning conviction into persuasion, which in the Chapter on Faith has been shown necessary to make it a virtue. For being ordained by Christ himself, and administered according to his institution, they are visible transactions between him and us, as direct and immediate as can be since his departure from earth; therefore proper pledges of his kindness to assure us of all these inestimable benefits we hope to gather therefrom.

2. But our Catechism has the words, as a means whereby we receive the same: is not this contrary to the nature of signs as just now described? Not at all to my thinking; nor do I apprehend that signs and means denote two distinct qualities in the Sacraments, but they become means by being signs:

signs: and this may appear when we consider what it is we receive thereby, namely, Grace. It has been shown in the Chapter upon that article, that Grace, considered as an effect, is an extraordinary disposition and vigour of mind to apprehend religious truths, which a sign and a pledge, described as above, leave a natural efficacy to produce: and in this sense it must be understood here, being spoken of as something given to us, not as something operating upon us; for we cannot be said to possess the Holy Spirit as a gift, otherwise than figuratively by a common metonymy of the cause for the effect.

Therefore we are not to imagine a spiritual influence infused into the elements, nor accompanying the ceremony, nor the Holy Ghost more peculiarly present than at other times, unless in the manner God and Christ are said to be peculiarly present where two or three are gathered together in their name, that is, solely by the greater clearness of our optics to discern them. I cannot, consistently with the doctrines of our Church, deny, that the Grace comes by the power of God co-operating in his third Persona with our endeavours in the application of the means; for since no good thing can be done without such assistance, the devout celebration of the Sacraments and Grace consequent thereupon being good things, such assistance must

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have been afforded. But the Sacraments I apprehend obtain the divine aid in the same manner as other means of Grace, though being the most sacred of our devotions, they do it in a larger measure, and may be said to bring down the Holy Spirit as prayer is said to bring down a supply of our wants from heaven: not that it can move God, but because it moves ourselves within the stream of his blessings, so they do not draw the heavenly power to shed his influence more copiously upon the heart, but draw the heart further into the current of his influence.

I am not so rigorous as to expect that persons of all sized apprehensions should enter clearly into these refinements: let them believe the rites to be principal means of Grace, without troubling their heads about the manner of operation: if they should happen to mingle a spice of the marvellous, because they cannot satisfy themselves any other way, there will be no great harm done: but for such as have ears to hear the voice of sober reason, or eyes to discern the distinction, it seems very material they should observe it. For when once a man begins to persuade himself that he feels the very finger of God, or hears his whisper, because he feels a sensible impression upon his mind, and unusual vigour in his powers of action, he is in immi-

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nent danger of sliding insensibly into the wilds of superstition and enthusiasm.

But though whenever we find a favourable alteration within us we must ascribe it to divine assistance, upon the authority of Scripture interpreted by our doctors; yet as argued in the Chapter last cited, the touch occasioning such change may have been given hours, or days, or months before, at a time when we could not perceive it. For we are warranted upon the same authority to compare the divine effusion to the wind, which bloweth where it listeth; thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth: we feel and hear the draught of air, and see the commotions it raises among the trees, but know nothing of the powers setting it in motion, where or how far off they lie, nor the time when they gave their impulse.

3. To the question, How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church, we are taught to answer, Two only as generally necessary to Salvation. One cannot presently discern the force of the adverb Generally, It seems at first sight to imply, that there are other Sacraments necessary for particular persons, though these alone be generally so; but this we know our Church disavows. Perhaps if necessary had been used alone, the world might

might have joined with it in their thoughts the adverb universally or absolutely; which might have given them the idea of an efficient virtue in the rites, putting us in possession of certain privileges without which no man can be saved, as no man can live without eating, nor purchase lands in a foreign country without being naturalized there: but whatever may be thought of Baptism, I hope it will be allowed that a child dying under seven years old may be saved without ever having communicated of the Lord's Supper. Therefore by Generally I apprehend we are to understand no more than necessary for all ranks and conditions of people, laics as well as clergy, the poor, the low, and the ignorant, as well as the rich, the noble, and the enlightened.

Let us next proceed to consider in what sense they are necessary, and I conceive them not directly but remotely so, that is, not immediately productive of salvation in themselves, but necessary preliminaries conducting to something else whereby we may attain it. Were future happiness a gift conferred by an immediate act of God, as vulgarly conceived, there would need no preparatives to fit us for the reception: for he who was able to raise up Children to Abraham of the veriest stones, is likewise able to

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invest any creature, however qualified in any state or condition of Being whatever, to make a Saint of a damned Soul, an Angel of a Devil, by an exertion of his Omnipotence. But Religion and Philosophy unanimously agree, that we are placed here in a state of probation, this life being preparatory to the next: which it could not be, at least to our comprehension, unless there were certain stated laws of universal Nature, rendering every man's condition hereafter dependent upon that wherein he quitted this earthly stage.

From whence, together with what has been argued in former places, it appears, that that nearest approach to perfection of the spiritual body wherein we are to rise again, which any man is capable of making in his present situation, is the thing directly productive of salvation. Which state the spiritual body is cast into by habitual just sentiments of God, and a tenor of conduct conformable thereto, called in Scripture language coming to the Father, strengthened and evidenced by the practice of right actions, styled in the same language doing the Will of the Father. And that this coming to the Father is the sole thing necessary, may be gathered from the words of Christ himself; who has declared that all the saying, Lord, Lord, prophesying, casting out Devils, doing many wonderful works

works in his name, will avail nothing without it: nor can it well be doubted that if Adam had continued stedfast in innocence, he might have been saved without knowledge of Christ, or application of the Sacraments.

But the Gospel has declared that no man can come to the Father unless through the Son: we are so debilitated by the original sin or sinfulness and imbecility of our Nature evidenced by the experiment made upon Adam, that we cannot possibly attain that health of the spiritual body wherein salvation consists, by our own strength and sagacity without aid of the precepts, the institutions, and example of Christ, which therefore are the sole and necessary passage conducting to the Father. What other passages may lie open to other persons, or whether the same degree of preparation in this life be requisite for every body, I have already considered in former places, particularly that relating to the doctrine of the straight gate, in the Chapter on Redemption: but to us to whom the Gospel has been propounded in a manner convincing to our understanding, and to such only it must be supposed to speak, because such only will hear it, there is none other passage by which we have any chance of arriving at our desired haven.

But since we cannot always see the expe-

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dience of his rules, nor discern the good of that endurance and forbearance whereof he has set us a pattern, our attachment to them will die away by degrees without an habitual reverence and trust in his name continually stimulating us thereto: for it is well known in common life, how much a name avails to bind things together in the remembrance which otherwise might dissipate, and the regard to a particular person fixes a proportionable regard upon every thing relative to him. Now those sacred rites ordained by Christ himself, actually delivered by him to our own persons, so far as can be done by representation, as signs, pledges, or tokens of his love to us, will have a natural tendency, if taken and received in that idea, to strengthen our trust in his name, and our reverence of his authority.

Thus the Sacraments are rather Christian than divine services, efficacious to invigorate our Faith in Christ, which is called the saving Faith, because introductive of that which is directly and immediately so. Therefore we may presume the Church pronounces them necessary, as being necessary equipments for our journey, rather than an actual progress in it: and upon having received them devoutly, we are not to look upon ourselves as a whit more in possession of salvation, but

better

better provided with the means of attaining it. For the benefit, if any, must appear in the improvement of our sentiments and conduct afterwards: or, to use the Stoical allegory, we are still as much in a state of drowning as before; but have laid hold on the cords, by which with hearty lifts we may raise ourselves into the pure air of rectitude and holiness.

If there be any who conceit they can do as well without them, or have found no improvement of their piety from them upon trial, it does not become us to judge of another, we must leave every man to his own conscience, and his own experience upon that article: yet even admitting him right, still they may be generally though not universally necessary. I cannot indeed suppose the compilers of our Catechism had any such construction in their thoughts, but the words may be true in that construction; for the practice of them may be necessary in general to keep up a spirit of Christianity among us, which spirit will diffuse itself imperceptibly by sympathy among particulars not using the means appointed. Whereto must be owing that our modern Philosophy has a greater mixture of Christianity among it than the ancient: and I have met with profound reasoners, seeming to retain very

little respect for the name of Christ, who yet have more of the Christian in their character than they know of, so have actually received a remote benefit from the Sacraments, though they will not acknowledge it.

4. Perhaps it may be alleged, that if Sacraments operate none otherwise than upon the mind and imagination, then Baptism is a mere empty form, being administered to infants, who can have no imagination of what is doing to them. But if they have not then, they will when grown up, and come to reflect on the solemnity wherewith they have been admitted to a participation of the benefits procured to mankind by Christ, and in their own persons receive the sign and pledge of his love ordained by himself. It would likewise operate upon the by-standers as a means of grace, were they careful to assist at it with a little more seriousness, and not as a mere customary form: for it would remind them of their own admission by the like ceremony, and engage their charity to a new fellow-traveller to whom an entrance has just been opened into the same road of salvation with themselves.

Therefore it was a very wise provision of our Church, that all Baptisms shall be celebrated publicly, except upon extraordinary occasions; and it is no less prudent in our present

present clergy to administer privately without asking for your extraordinary occasion: because else, as the world goes, there would be no baptizing at all, and I have said more than once before, that a wise man will do as he can, when he cannot do as he would. Indeed as our places of worship in this humid climate are stone vaults, many times half under ground, and our children born with more delicate constitutions than those of our fore-fathers, who were a nation of soldiers and huntsmen, there may be a good reason against exposing them to the damps of a quarry in winter season: but since the rubric has not limited the time, why might not the ceremony be deferred till vernal Suns have exhaled the dangerous vapours and blunted the cutting edge of Eurus?

There is one obstacle against this method, that the nurses would lose their fees, and it is well known the laws of fashion are holden more indispensable among us, than those of the Church: but this might be removed by the sponsors coming early to make their offerings to the air-born Goddess, and at the same time appointing their substitutes to attend for them at the sacred font, in case themselves should be engaged in the more important transactions of Tunbridge, or Newmarket: whereby both our credit and our

consciences might be saved harmless at once. But though the clergy must do as they can with the laity, one should think they might do as they would with their own body, and prevail on them to certify all private Baptisms as the rubric directs, for which it might not be amiss if a short prayer were framed suitable thereto. From what has been said it appears matter of consequence to a grown person, but not to a child dying young, whether it has ever been christened or no: nevertheless, I am for a speedy administration in cases where life is in danger, were it for none other reason than a little to open the narrow minds of the vulgar, by advancing one step towards the idea of a general interest, and making it received as a popular doctrine, that a soul may be saved without actual faith in Christ, or knowledge of him during its abode in this earthly tabernacle.

5. There are folks who pretend to be mightily shocked at the absurdity of a child promising by proxies not appointed by himself, which promise says our Church, when come to years of discretion, himself is bound to perform: but I hope none are stricken with this shock who hold the Revolution principles, and ground the liberties of this nation upon an original contract made between the kings and people of our Saxon ancestors;

ancestors; nor any of the French writers, who lay down that if the reigning family should ever happen to be extinct, the Estates would have a right to choose whomsoever they pleased, but are bound to the present family by the choice made by their ancestors of Hugh Capet.

In these cases there is an obligation, not otherwise binding, laid upon children born or to be born throughout all succeeding generations, which there is not in the principal case, where the child enters into no new engagement, nor gives up any natural right belonging to him: for let us consider what it is he promises, To renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, which translated into philosophic language is vanity, indulgence, and malice; to believe the Articles of the Christian Faith: and to keep God's holy will and commandments. The first and last of these three branches the child is already bound to by the condition of that nature whereinto he is born, under a peril of forfeiting all his hopes in futurity: and it being the doctrine of our Church, that in this lapsed state none can sufficiently fulfil those obligations without aid of the Christian doctrines and institutions, he is by the same condition of his nature likewise bound to the second branch, as a necessary passage introductive

introductive into the other two. So here is no engagement made for the child by his Godfathers, nor promise of any thing he would not, when come to age, himself have been bound to perform, though they had undertaken nothing for him: and their part in the ceremony amounts to no more, than a declaration made with a solemnity proper to strike a strong sense upon the mind of an obligation lying upon the child, and upon us all, by the provisions of God and nature, upon our being formed human creatures.

If it might be permitted to offer one little alteration, I would propose that the word Dost in the second interrogatory, might be changed into Wilt: for there does seem to be some handle for scoffers to be arch upon making a new born babe actually believe a set of articles, when he can have no idea of a single term among all those wherein they are crouched. I presume it was this mistake of looking upon Baptism as the actual agreement to a contract not subsisting before, rather than the declaration of one whereto we are obligated at our birth by the necessity of our nature, that made the Anabaptists scrupulous of administering it, unless to adults: for taking it in that light there seems to be a foundation for their scruples. However if any body thinks himself not sufficiently

ciently obligated, nor consequently entitled to the privileges of a contracting party, without an act of his own, the Church has provided the ceremony of confirmation, by which he may take upon himself all that his sponsors undertook in his name, and then he may be satisfied upon the maxims whereby we govern ourselves in our temporal concerns: for I think it is a rule of law, that if an infant, after he comes of age, assents to a deed executed by him in his minority, it becomes as good and valid as if he had been forty years old at the original time of sealing.

But there might be many inconveniencies in delaying the celebration until children were grown up: I have observed before, that it is notorious how apt people are to put off a thing for which there is not a fixed time wherein it must be done. Some would never think themselves sufficiently instructed to qualify them for the undertaking. Some would delay it on purpose that they might not double the guilt of complying with the world, the flesh, and the devil, by a solemn renunciation. Some would be cruelly tortured by the dilemma of precipitating the sacred rite before they were well prepared, or else running the hazard of being cut off by a sudden death while delaying longer than they ought. Multitudes would omit it through

through carelessness, so that we should never know who were even nominal Christians among us, and who are not. Besides, as a great deal of wickedness may be committed before seventeen, which I think is reckoned the adult age, many sprightly young people would imagine they had a licence to do as they pleased, presuming upon the laver of regeneration for washing away all former scores.

For this notion is apt to arise from the rite employed, water being serviceable to wash away foulnesses remaining from prior defilements: but there is no more fruitful source of errors in Religion, than the too rigorous interpretation of figures, by applying all the properties and operations of the image to the thing signified thereby. But I apprehend the effects of Baptism, though similar are not the same with those of water, having respect to the future rather than the past, working a deliverance from condemnation none otherwise than by the prevention of sin: the original, or other sin washed away thereby, being not an actual gilt, but a sinfulness or depravity of nature, which the inward and spiritual grace, given to us by means of this outward sign, removes by helping to produce a thorough repentance or Metanoia, that is, a change of mind from a carnal or sensual habit to a spiritual or rational.

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6. The like application of the properties in the sign to the thing signified, together with a fondness for the marvellous, has proved the source of many dangerous errors, and fatal dissentions concerning the Eucharist; by which thousands have been vexed, ruined, persecuted, tortured, and murdered, and the prince of peace made the authoriser of havoc, desolation, and carnage. For the reception of this Sacrament being termed eating the flesh of Christ, the properties of flesh must needs be annexed to the bread: and because this flesh is supposed to contain peculiar qualities not belonging to other flesh, it is necessary the priest should call down his very body crucified upon the cross into the bread; which must be transubstantiated thereinto, or consubstantiated therewith, so that Christ himself may be really and corporally present in the elements. It would become those who pretend to stickle so strenuously for the letter, to recollect that text which teaches, that the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive; and indeed this letter has killed its thousands.

But let us observe how well they do adhere to the letter in the form of the institution, comparing the Evangelists with Saint Paul's account of it to the Corinthians: Christ says, This is my body which is broken, This is my blood which is shed; the priest says, This is his

his body which is whole, entire, and unbroken, containing the mass of blood unshed within it. Christ says, Drink ye all of this: the priest says, I will drink this myself; so there is none to be had for the communicant. Oh! but all things are possible with God; he who could make the same body exist in a thousand places at once, can make the same mass of blood exist at once unshed in the wafer, and shed in the cup; so that the lay communicant has already had the blood together with the body. Very well, but then he has eaten, not drank it: neither, since here are two same bloods, has he had that which was shed: both which particulars were ordained in the letter of the institution.

But these absurdities are now pretty well gotten rid of, I believe among the thoughtful in all countries, but certainly among the generality in our own: yet I am afraid the expressions employed in the Catechism leave a notion in some people of something divine infused into the elements, from thence entering into the substance of the Soul, which is nourished thereby, as our bodies are by the bread and wine. But they may please to remember, the Church declares them an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. But the reception of grace is not an accession or alteration of substance, no more than

than the acquisition of a new virtue, a language, a science, or accomplishment, which are only habits of the mind; and a sign is the same to the senses, as a figure to the understanding.

The Scripture abounds in figures, oftentimes of that kind called by the writers on rhetoric, enigmas or riddles, on purpose to set us upon a diligent exercise of our judgment, without which hearing we shall hear and not understand, and seeing we shall see but not perceive. The Jews had many far-fetched figures current among them, which seem uncouth and mysterious to us: but this was too dark even for them, for they boggled at it, saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? Yet it is not more harsh than that used with the Samaritan woman, to whom Jesus declared that the drink he should give would prove a fountain of living waters in the belly: but it would sound very strange in our ears to talk of a man's carrying a fountain about with him in his belly. Therefore in the interpretation of figures, how remote soever the allusion lies, we must pursue it on till we find it terminate in something consistent with common sense, reason, and human nature.

Nor need we want a clue to lead us among the allusions, frequently drawn from eating, and things relative thereto, as well in our familiar

miliar as serious discourses: mothers, say they love their children so well they could eat them; mischief is said to be nuts to some folks; we talk of a thirst of knowledge, a glutton of books, cramming down divinity, of digesting what we read, of a meagre and starveling style, of crudities in expressions: of the marrow, nerves, and sinews, to which Tully adds, the blood and complexion of a discourse, of feeding the thoughts on a subject, feasting them on a pleasurable reflection, receiving the cordial of comfort, imbibing opinions, swallowing the tenets of a party or particular person; and many more figures of the like sort, taken from the same fund. Now it is not unlikely, the Jews might carry their allusion a little further remote, and where we should express ourselves by swallowing the doctrines, they might talk of eating the man himself.

And that the deglutition was of this sort appears manifest, because our Church, and I believe all Churches, holds that Christ is eaten effectually, so as to prove nourishment, by none but the faithful: but the faith here spoken of, operates only during the celebration, therefore the nourishment we receive is taken in then, not after the elements are down in our stomachs. Yet our Church, although disavowing the corporal, maintains

maintains the real presence of the body and blood of Christ; which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. Which restriction to the faithful shows, what kind of body is really present, namely, that which is discernible only by the eye of faith, not by any of the bodily senses: for whatever body and blood, and whatever supernatural virtue or nutritive faculty, the priest has infused into the bread, are verily and indeed taken and received by the unfaithful. So that the real presence here is the same with that of God in places where two or three are gathered together in his name: if there be a man among them, who did not gather in his name, who looks upon the Church services as an idle, insignificant parade, but must come to qualify himself for a place upon the test act; to him God is no more present at the communion-table, than the gaming-table, notwithstanding that the remarks, and will in proper time remember, his behaviour at both places.

It was necessary to be express concerning the real presence, because else a handle might have been taken for apprehending the ceremony a mere form which might be complied with or let alone, an imaginary transaction without any real effect. And the

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verily and indeed taking of what before was called an inward and spiritual grace, must denote that the devout communicant does actually receive the benefits understood in the Gospel by the figure of eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ, that is, the confirming our trust and faith in his name,, the quickening our remembrance of all he has done and suffered for us: which will naturally help to strengthen our disposition to virtuous and good actions, refresh our languid hopes in the administration of Providence, and rekindle our cooling Charity towards our fellow-creatures.

7. If we consider what it is the Church requires of them who come to the Lord's Supper, we shall find it to be nothing more than to examine themselves, whether they already possess in some measure the very things they expect to receive more compleatly by coming thither: so that the sacred rite infuses no new grace or virtue into us, but gives us a powerful lift in the progress we had begun before. Therefore the right preparation for this Sacrament is made by calling over in our serious thoughts whatever dispositions of mind, and courses of practice may prove most beneficial to our spiritual interest, and summoning up a hearty resolution to pursue them: we shall be

be able to do this very imperfectly, but if we exert our endeavours, not in a fright and a flurry, but with a calm, steady determination, we shall find ourselves strongly assisted therein by the visible signs and pledges ordained by Christ himself, and so far as representation can go, delivered by Christ himself to us in our own persons.

One of the requisites mentioned being repentance of former sins, some good women hold it necessary to afflict and humble themselves for a week beforehand by way of preparation: I have shown in the last Chapter, that humiliation and a thorough scrutiny into our failings may be performed without making it a melancholy task. It is like the work of a country, upon whom some calamity has befallen, preparing a list of their distresses to lay before the prince for relief; which I suppose they would go about with alacrity, and yet with exactness. However, if any have such a constitution of mind, as that they cannot bring themselves to hearty repentance without a great deal of sighing and groaning, I have nothing to say against it: only let them throw aside their sorrows when they approach the sacred table, for they are to bring thither a lively sense of God's mercies, with a thankful remembrance of their Redemption; but the voice of thanksgiving is the

the voice of joy, and melancholy is utterly incompatible with liveliness. We are told indeed that upon some occasions the most acceptable prayer is, God be merciful to me a sinner, which carries an air of dejection and distress; but for a Eucharist, which by the very name requires a chearful and hopeful spirit, it will be a more suitable ejaculation to say, Assuredly, O God, thou wilt be merciful to me a sinner.

There are those of srcupulous consciences, who terrify themselves strangely at the danger of receiving unworthily, warned against in the eleventh of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. I would recommend to such, to read over Mr. Locke's paraphrase and notes upon that passage; where they will find it relates wholly to a perverse custom, crept in amongst the Corinthians, of each man bringing his own dinner with him to Church: the rich gormandized upon their dainties without suffering the poor toads, who had nothing to bring but a few crumbs of bread and cheese, to partake with them. But there being no such custom thought of now, we cannot run a hazard of the judgments there denounced by St. Paul.

And the manner wherein he directed, and this Sacrament is constantly administered among us, may convince us of the intrinsic equality

equality among mankind: for bread from the same loaf, and wine from the same cup are distributed, the same spiritual nourishment afforded, the same signs and pledges of love delivered in representation by Christ himself, to all, without distinction of noble and honourable, rich and mighty, learned and sagacious, reverend and secular; but the poor, the simple, and the ignorant, are admitted to the same mess at the Lord's table, the same hopes and the same promises: so that though our our conditions in this life are very various in all respects, yet the spirits of men are by nature homogeneous and similar, without other difference than what they make themselves by their respective manner of conduct.

But the expression which gives the greatest disturbance is that of not discerning the Lord's body, which though Mr. Locke has shown ought to have been translated in another manner, and so this text has no relation to the matter causing this disturbance, yet it is apparent from the nature of the thing, as explained above, that such discernment is the act whereby the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received: therefore more or less spiritual nourishment is taken in, and the Sacrament more or less worthily received, in proportion to the strength or faintness of the discernment.

Yet the damage is barely negative, the non-discernment, if owing to inability, being not a wickedness committed, but only a loss of advantage that might have accrued: so that if any with all their efforts cannot raise so full a discernment as they wish, or as others do, or as they have done themselves at other times, they need not affright themselves upon that account; for should they not discern at all, they would not be the worse, but only never the better than if they had forborne to communicate. Nevertheless, it is dangerous thus to receive unworthily, or approach when under an utter indisposition of mind to discern the Lord's body; lest it should grow into a habit, whereby they will be utterly debarred the benefits intended to be conveyed by this sacred rite.

CHAP. XXIV.

DISCIPLINE.

MATTERS of Discipline belong to Ecclesiastical polity, a different science from those of Religion or Philosophy, as respecting rather the outward forms and rules of behaviour in society, than the inward sentiments or manners:

ners; it takes in the consideration of what is practicable and suitable together with what is right in theory, and builds as much upon knowledge of the world, as upon that nature of things which is the object of contemplation in the elect. Yet reason upon observation of that nature of things, may discern, that some rule and discipline in religious matters is necessary for order and convenience sake: for a certain portion of our time having been appointed to be kept holy by divine command, sacred rites having been ordained by Christ himself, public assemblies, places of worship, provisions to be made therein, persons to officiate thereat, having in the foregoing Chapters been shown instrumental to the substantials of Religion; all these things could not be commodiously supplied without established regulations prevailing among a religious community.

It may be fancied, the people might fall into such regulations of themselves upon view of their expedience, without aid of authority to interfere: which in this case being human authority, will always be liable to error, and in fact has proved more mischievous than serviceable to Religion in former times. I shall not deny that grievous and crying abuses have been committed, and so there have in secular government under all its forms, whe-

ther democratical, oligarchic or monarchical: but will any man therefore wish to live in anarchy, among a people who had none other guide than their own discernment of what measures were requisite for their general security and well-being?

A few friends of reasonable tempers and similar characters might live together well enough, without other law than their own discretion: for they would agree in the same judgment upon most occasions, and where they did not, would quickly be brought over into one another's sentiments. So a young sect in its beginning may subsist and grow, without aid of authority: for being few in number, they will be friends to one another, will all have the same scheme at heart, which consists of two or three particulars whereon they perpetually confer, with a real desire of mutual agreement in their common support. And yet though I have admitted this possible in theory, I should be puzzled to produce an instance of it in fact: for there has always been some particular person of high repute among his brethern for extraordinary sanctity and kowledge in spiritual matters, whose decision is sacred, and whose word is a law to all the rest. Our modern innovators exhibit strong specimens of the force of such a prepossession, upon which they wholly depend

pend for cementing their flock together: for they pronounce upon every thing with the peremptoriness of an absolute monarch; and I have been informed that one of them in particular, if any body scruples doing as he bids, never stands to reason the case, but tells him with a confident air, You will be damned if you do not. This was all the Pope ever had to say: yet we know too well what a mighty influence this little terrifying word gave him over kings, and states, and all temporal affairs.

But whatever may be done among a society of friends or in the infancy of a system, when it once is spread among multitudes, or become national, there must be some public regulations for keeping things from running into disorder; for the members being numerous, strangers to one another, dispersed in different places, of different humours and turns of thought, there would be a thousand various modes of discipline among them: which being seldom distinguishable from essentials by the generality they would become a disjointed body, perpetually at variance, or at least incapable of that benefit they might receive from their mutual intercourse. Besides that provision is to be made not only for convenience of such as are well disposed, but likewise for instructing the ignorant,

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norant, for engaging the thoughtless, for preventing those who will do no good from doing hurt, and restraining the licentious within some bounds of decency.

For when we reflect on the force of appearance and sympathy, we must acknowledge that every man's outward behaviour may be of consequence to others, where it is of none to himself: and though hypocrisy may prove as pernicious to the owner as blasphemy, yet it is much more innocent to the public. Therefore we see that in all countries upon earth that have any Religion among them, there is some established discipline; and though the wisest and most rationally religious of them tolerate other forms than their own, they have their institutions and usages for the generality, and for such as have none opinions and but little thought of their own. And even the tolerated systems of any considerable currency, though not supported by law, have their forms, their customs, and their discipline enforced by the authority of some kind of consistories amongst them.

In making provision for the purposes abovementioned, regard must be had to the temper and character of the people, to their former persuasions and customs, to the civil constitutions of the nation, and to the sentiments of neighbouring nations; that as little of peculiarity

culiarity and opposition may appear, as possible. All which being out of my sphere, it would not become me to pronounce upon the perfection of any ritual: therefore shall presume of our ecclesiastical polity, as ought to be presumed of our civil, and indeed of every private man's behaviour, that it is right until apparent reasons occur to the contrary, and until standing in a situation to have full cognizance of the cause with all its circumstances and dependences. Therefore I shall only make observation upon one or two particulars, in hopes to explain their use and tendency to such as may have misapprehended them.

2. When I was at the University I remember to have heard the young fellows, intending for holy orders, descant upon the call they must profess themselves to have, before they could obtain ordination. They seemed in general to look upon it as a remnant of the Romish superstition, and that our first Reformers understood by it a secret intimation or impulse of the Holy Spirit, urging them to the sacred function. Those of a more serious turn, yet too rational to pretend to methodistical experiences, wished they could be excused the question, as knowing of no such impulse they ever had, which might entitle them to answer in the affirmative.

affirmative. Others regarding it as an antiquated form, which had no real meaning, but to which for decency's sake they must give some meaning, thought a nominal appointment to some paltry curacy or chaplainship a sufficient call within the words of the institution. And thus it ever happens, that when things are not presently comprehended, there arises an idea of something supernatural: but there are so many unaccountable things in the operations of Nature, in the workings of chance, so many mysteries in all arts and sciences, as one would think might cure us of the humour of making Mysterious a synonymous term with Miraculous.

I have laid down in the first section of the Chapter on the Trinity, though without any thought of having a use for the observation here, that the delivery of the talent is the proper call to whatever work may be compleated thereby: for God calls us by the voice of nature, by the situation and circumstances wherein his Providence has placed us. He has made us sociable creatures, capable of giving help, or doing damage to one another: by this he calls upon us to contribute our part towards every general interest wherein we can be serviceable. He has likewise distributed to us various talents, temperaments,

temperaments, externals, and opportunities: by which he calls to that particular scheme of life for which they are most suitable, and which will be most beneficial to ourselves, and others with whom we have connection. And that I am not singular in this construction, appears from the appellation given to all common trades and professions, which are termed lawful callings, that is, employments whereto each particular man is called by the courses of nature and fortune, those two ministers of Providence, for making his own life easy, and supplying conveniences for the public.

This last effect is not had in contemplation by persons entering into common occupations; the shoe-maker follows his calling to get a livelihood thereby, and has no further thought of obliging his customers than that it may bring them to his shop again; so the benefit accruing to the public from his labours is purely accidental with respect to him. But the Church, I presume, judged it requisite, that those who undertake the profession of instructing others in the relation they stand in to their Maker, and their obligation to pursue a general interest, should first be sensible of the like themselves: and should look upon their profession, not solely as a livelihood or temporal advancement,

vancement, but likewise in the light of a calling, as the course of life wherein they can most effectually perform the Will of God by being most serviceable to their fellow-creatures, and best contributing their part towards the general interest.

Therefore I cannot think this demand of a call an insignificant or useless ceremony, as it would be to a shoe-maker before he were permitted to set up his trade. For the shoe-maker, if he have a due regard to his private interest, will upon that motive make the strongest and neatest shoes in his skill and power; nor could he do better if he had the public accommodation ever so strongly at heart. But the office of a clergyman may be performed in very different manners; either perfunctorily, as a task necessary for entitling him to receive his tithes or his stipend, and to escape the censure of the world, or carefully and conscientiously, as a trust reposed in him by God, for the maintenance of Religion and benefit of the flock committed to his care: which last manner he will not be likely to pursue, without a full sense of its being a calling in the construction offered above.

Upon this view of the matter I may be allowed to suppose the Church expects that a young man, before he determines upon the ministry,

ministry, should make a serious and thorough examination of his talents, his education, his taste and disposition of mind, and his situation in life: and thereupon should stand persuaded, that he is called to this function by God, not in his third Person of Dispenser of Grace and Giver of supernatural assistance, but in his Person of Father, the Author of Nature, Ordainer of Providence and Disposer of all events; as being the way wherein he is likely to serve God and mankind to best purpose. I should imagine any man might go through this scrutiny, so as to satisfy himself whether he has such call, or no; and if upon the result he sincerely thinks he has, may rationally and honestly answer to the question proposed.

As for the appointment to some certain duty, there may be other good reasons for requiring it, but I apprehend it not at all necessary to warrant his profession of having a call. For as the shoe-maker, when out of his apprenticeship, and expert in the trade, may set up his lawful calling though he has not a single pair of shoes bespoken of him; because he may provide all his implements and materials to supply any who shall be willing to set him at work, and may prepare shoes to lie ready made for such customers as are nice in their measure: so I apprehend

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the young divine may be said in part to answer his call, by putting himself in a readiness to enter directly upon any work that may offer; and as expertness comes by practice, he may better qualify himself to act as a master, by doing journey-work in the interim.

But there is a scruple apt to start up in some serious minds from a secret vanity, which will insinuate itself into every man, in some shape or other, in spite of his utmost endeavours to keep it out. We all fancy ourselves of prodigious importance; if we have a notion of doing service to the public, it must needs be great service or it is nothing; hence some well-disposed persons being conscious they are not qualified to convert infidels, to silence gainsayers, to enlighten the ignorant, to soften the reprobate, are doubtful whether they have a call. But all are not to be Apostles, nor Tillotsons nor Barrows. The Church militant, as well as the army, requires officers of all ranks; without subalterns more numerous than the field officers, neither can be compleat: and in this, as in all other professions, every man does well, who does his best, be it ever so little. Without this consideration I could have no encouragement to go on with my Chapters, as expecting no mighty matters from them: but

but if I, circumstanced in all respects as I am, could not have employed my time better any other way, I am justified; and so is every man who bestows his pains in any work upon a considerate opinion, that he could not have bestowed them to greater advantage elsewhere.

Therefore I conceive the call is not to be looked for in the absolute quantity of good to be done by a particular person in the ministry, but in the greater comparative good he may hope to do, all circumstances considered, in that profession, than any he could turn himself to beside: and if he have a reasonable prospect of such greater good, he is justified in assenting to the interrogatory. If there be any among the Clergy who might have served their country better as intriguing statesmen, compliant courtiers, intrepid soldiers, busy traders, ingenious artificers, disputatious lawyers, or sturdy ploughmen, I leave them to their own consciences, having nothing to suggest for assisting them in their justification. Nevertheless, I am not so merely speculative as to insist that no temporal considerations nor direction of parents ought to weigh in the scale, being sensible this neither is practicable, nor would be convenient for the public service: therefore, I said, all circumstances considered, for our situation

tion in life and the authority of superiors are of the provision of Heaven, and consequently deserve to be taken into account as parts of the call, which ought all to be regarded as they may explain and qualify one another. But if all things have not been duly weighed, or if upon the result it still remains visible, that better service might be done in some other course of life, it seems a direct prevarication to pretend a call.

3. Another source of debate sprung from the words Receive the Holy Ghost, which were thought to imply an actual delivery of something: for being in the imperative mood, like the recipe of a physician, and accompanied with a solemn act, they seemed to express a direction to the party to take what was administered to him by such act, and to carry the idea of a certain efficacy transpiring from the fingers of the Bishop upon imposition of hands, which might invigorate the faculties, and infuse powers wanting before. But there are innumerable instances in discourses of all kinds, where the imperative mood is used without any such meaning. When St. Paul began his epistles, or a preacher concludes his sermon, with saying, The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be among you all; when we say God grant or God send; when on parting company we bid one another

another Good by, which is an abbreviation of God be with you, we have no thought of any thing delivered, or of giving directions to receive it: it is no more than a petition or cordial wish, that the thing may happen as we express. So the expression may be understood as if it had run, May you receive that assistance of the Holy Spirit without which no good thing, more especially not this sacred office, can be performed effectually.

But the words being construed as a prayer or wish, does not make it necessary they must have no real effect beside: for the whole solemnity of which this formula is a part, may still operate as a natural means of what is here called the Holy Ghost, by a very useful metonymy of the cause for the effect. We have seen in the two last Chapters, that forms, ceremonies, and sensible objects have an efficacy to strike impressions upon the mind; and produce there that disposition and vigour of sentiment which in religious matters is termed Grace. In the commerce of the world, when a man enters upon a new course of life, he considers himself in a new character, assumes different sentiments and forms, a new plan of conduct suitable thereto: the change of character must be compleated by degrees, but if there be

be some solemn act or ceremony accompanying, it will at once give a strong turn to his thoughts, and serve as the leading idea of an association continually introducing the others, connected in train therewith, to his remembrance. For this reason the entrance upon most offices is opened with a formal investiture, from the crowning of the king down to the delivery of the staff to a constable: which though intended likewise as a notification to the public of the quality and authority of the person, yet by that very circumstance will have an additional effect upon him, when he reflects in what light he will be considered by others.

In like manner I apprehend the solemnity of investiture in the sacred function of one who considers it as the work whereto he is called of God in the sense a little before explained, and reflects that from thenceforward he will be regarded in a new character by the world, may produce in him a considerable Metanoia, a new turn of mind, a change of sentiments, aims, and schemes, with a calm and steady but strong determination to conform his whole future conduct thereto: and thus, without magic or miracle, but by natural means, may actually convey what is figuratively called the Holy Ghost, because without his secret concurrence, the convey-

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ance will not be compleat, nor the effect of it durable. But the word Receive implies something to be done by the recipient: from whence may be gathered, that as the body and blood in the Sacrament are not verily and indeed taken by the unworthy communicant, so neither is the Holy Spirit received by him who undergoes the ceremony only, as a mere form necessary to come at the income of a living.

4. There are some people disturbed at the dignities and revenues established in the Church: if they have so contemptible an opinion of Religion as to wish it were utterly lost out of the world, there is good ground for their disturbance. But I will not suppose this of them, and as those who complain loudest are such as would be thought very rational men, they will hardly expect the world should be well instructed by means of extraordinary illuminations, and supernatural impulse imparted to private persons, qualifying them instantaneously for the office: or if the thing were doubtful in speculation, experience testifies what wild work has been made by persons undertaking it upon those pretences. For it is well known the doctrines of Religion may be grossly misunderstood and perverted to very mischievous purposes, as well through mere ignorance, indiscre-

tion, or hastiness of zeal, as by design. Therefore the due management of it must be allowed to be a science as difficult to be learned as any that are current in the world, as well deserving to be made the profession of a man's life, and to have a particular education suited thereto.

If we do not think a common artificer well qualified for his business without having served an apprenticeship, surely this, which is a more dangerous edge tool than the saw and the hatchet, requires an early preparation to handle it skilfully. Now if we consider how early the preparation must be begun, and the determination made, between an equipment for the shop or the pulpit, we shall quickly find it necessary that some temporal encouragement should be cast into the scale. It is a great thing, too great to be compassed, for a man mature in years, experience, and judgment, to act invariably with a chearful industry upon the sole motive of doing service to his fellow-creatures without aid of private interest: for we are but sensitivo-rational animals, incapable of attaining the Stoical love of rectitude for its own sake, to require it of us would be expecting to find us Angels instead of Men; the highest use we can make of our understanding is to restrain the exorbitances of

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our desires, and choose such among them as may serve to spur us on in the prosecution of our rational designs.

But nothing of this is to be looked for in a boy who is to go to school or to an apprenticeship, neither is there one in a thousand who makes the option for himself, being generally put upon their line of life by their parents or friends: and even when a lad does take a strong turn himself, if the truth were known, I believe it would appear owing to something constantly chimed in his ears, rather than his own original choice. But the friends and parents have the temporal advancement of their children in view, grandeur and riches are their incitements: they consider life as a lottery, and would not venture their child in a class where there were no great prizes, for those are the necessary lures to draw in adventurers: if they propose an apprenticeship, it is a step into my Lord Mayor's coach: if the law, they have in view the great purse and the Seals; if divinity, they think of the lawn sleeves and the Lordship.

It becomes not me to pronounce upon the honours and possessions of the Church, whether they be more ample than necessary, whether properly distributed in proportion to the duties annexed, or whether rightly

conferred according to the true intent of their institution. Those are matters belonging to wiser heads and higher powers. All I contend for is, that without temporal encouragements sufficiently inviting to those who have the disposal of young people, labourers would be wanting in the vineyard. I knew a very good man, a dissenter, whose son desired to be bred up to the ministry; but he would not let him, because he said there was nothing to be gotten in their way above a hundred pounds a year. Now the talents of the lad were such as, I believe, would scarce have raised him to a hundred pounds a year, if he had gone upon the established line: but the father thought higher of him; and so I suppose do most fathers.

Therefore if there were not a possibility of some considerable matters, few would be put upon the lists who were not of such unpromising genius, as that even the partiality of their friends could not judge them fit for any thing else; or in such low circumstances as that the bare exemption from bodily labour would be deemed a prize. But if it be thought that any thing can be taught to read over a service intelligibly. yet I hope it will be allowed that some better qualified officers are requisite in the Church militant: for there are so many attacks made against Religion, so many

many misapprehensions and perversions of its doctrines, so many new vices and follies continually starting up, that plodding industry and downright probity alone cannot manage them without acuteness and sagacity of parts improved by a compass of learning. And there is the more need to provide for store of hopeful plants, because out of every score of ingenious boys in the mother's estimation, it is good luck if one turns out an ingenious man when come abroad into the world.

Neither will acuteness of parts and depth of learning answer the purpose compleatly without aid of other qualifications; men of a scholastic turn are commonly too abstruse and rigid, they cast Religion into a form which is fit for nobody's wear but their own: therefore it is requisite there should be some mingled among them, who by a competent knowledge of human nature, of the manners and characters of mankind, may be able to turn the labours of the others to general use, to render speculation practical, and discern what is feasible as well as what is desirable. But discretion and knowledge of the world are not to be leaned at grammar school, nor at college: they must be gotten at home, if gotten at all, from the parents or persons with whom they use familiarly to converse: whence it appears fitting there should be such prizes in the lottery, as may look tempting in the

the eye of families where there are opportunities of studying this science.

But lest I should give offence by thus making private interest, ambition, and vanity, the avenues to the sacred function, I shall observe, that this cannot be thought a reflection upon the order in me, who have been as little complaisant to all orders whatever among men: having laid down, that private satisfaction is the constant spring of all our actions, that every man's own Good is his proper ultimate end of pursuit; deduced all the virtues, the purest love and benevolenc from selfishness; and grafted the scyons of Uranian Venus upon the wild stocks shot up spontaneously in the garden of Nature. For our own desires are mostly of the translated kind, having been tranferred from the end to the means, which from thenceforward become an end or ultimate point of view: and a translated desire generally contains a vigour and firmness proportionable to that of the original desire from whence it was transferred: therefore I see nothing should hinder the desire of advancement in the world from serving for a proper stock whereon to graft a solid and genuine piety.

The young adventurer, I suppose, will be exhorted to make himself master in his science for gaining the better credit and success therein: if he have any spirit and industry,

try, he will endeavour to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Religion he is to teach to others; and the principal part of what he is to inculcate being a command of the passions, a preference of future happiness before present advantage, a glowing serenity of hope in the divine Goodness, a sincere attachment to the general interest, and an unreserved charity to all mankind; to press those things by the most animating topics, and enforce them by a justness of reasoning and solidity of argument; he cannot well avoid taking a tincture of them himself in his progress. So that by continual application of his thoughts to those trains he may acquire as much indifference to wordly concerns, as pure a holiness, as strong a love of rectitude, as hearty judicious zeal to do good, as human nature, in this diseased state, and under the circumstances surrounding it, is capable of attaining. And if the student in divinity will ruminate seriously upon what has been suggested above in the second section concerning the call which is to qualify him for admission into the sacred office, I apprehend it will contribute not a little towards making the scyon take good hold and imbibe the vigour and succulence of the stock: which being mellowed and meliorated in the passage, may produce a plentiful crop of excellent fruits.

CHAP. XXV.

ARTICLES.

GREAT outcry has been made against imposing articles of belief upon men's consciences, and invading their most inviolable and unalienable rights by denying them even the liberty of thought. One would think the persons who join in this clamour were foreigners, who had just gotten some history three hundred years old, and from thence taken their idea of our constitution and polity upon what they read there of the Popish tyranny and persecutions. But I know of no imposition now put upon the conscience, nor fetters attempted to be cast upon the liberty of thought. An English gentleman may believe the world was made by chance, or the moon made of cream cheese, if he pleases: no scrutiny will be taken into his thoughts by the Courts of Justice, nor if discovered will he incur any corporalor pecuniary penalty thereby, since the writ de heretico comburendo has been taken away. Very true, you say; a man may think what he will because you cannot hinder him by all the laws you can contrive, but then

then he must keep his thoughts to himself, and this it seems is a grievous bondage: for liberty of thought is nothing without liberty of expressing the thoughts upon all occasions, and in all companies.

It may seem surprizing, that in a country where liberty is our idol, it should be so little understood; but each man's notion of liberty seems to be an unbounded licence for him to do whatever he fancies, without regard to his neighbours or compatriots. Whereas liberty subsists by restraint, therefore if unbounded must necessarily destroy itself; for the law, its only safeguard, operates no otherwise than by penalties restraining from the practices prohibited thereby. The law can give no liberty to any body directly, but by consequence of the restraints it lays upon others: for as two negatives make an affirmative, so the restraining of him who might use his natural or civil power to infringe the rights and liberties of his fellow subjects, preserves them therein. And where they may be invaded by an expression of the thoughts, it is for the interests of liberty to restrain them from being vented. A man may think another dishonest, or write down such opinion in his closet without offending the law: for if somebody should steal away the paper, whereby his sentiments might be proved upon him

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I apprehend no conviction could be obtained thereupon. But if he calls him rogue to his face, by way of abuse, or behind his back, to discredit him with other people, this is an infringement of his liberty to enjoy the benefit of a good name, and the tranquillity of his own mind: therefore the law restrains such practices out of its regard to liberty.

2. Nature pours out her produce in common among the whole species: she leaves every man at liberty to gather the fruits of the earth wherever he can find them. This will appear manifest upon imagining a number of persons not bound together by any compact or government, cast upon some uninhabited island: where there would be no prior claim of one person above another, but each would be entitled to make his uses of any thing falling within his reach. It is easy to see what waste and destruction must ensue upon the general exercise of such liberty: how prone the stronger would be to abridge the weaker in their share of it, and how many advantages and conveniencies might be procured by the proper limitation of it. These considerations, I apprehend, are the true foundation of order, regulation, and government: which draw men out of the state of Nature to place them in a better state, wherein they may have larger scope of liberty

liberty to work out a distant benefit for themselves, without being hindered in their progress or defeated of their purpose by one another.

Thus there are two kinds of liberty: that of Nature, of the savage, and the wild beast, subject to no restriction, nor control of every present fancy that shall start up: and that of reason and prudence, which cannot subsist without some limitation upon the former, but is much more beneficial, as securing the profits of industry and contrivance, and extensive schemes requiring time to bring their fruits to maturity. For as the road to pleasure lies sometimes through self-denial, so a seasonable restraint is a necessary avenue to a larger extent of our powers and freedom.

Now this latter kind must be had in view by whoever sets up for the champion of liberty, or he betrays the cause he pretends to maintain: for if the essence of liberty be placed in any thing prejudicial to society, it must quickly and deservedly fall into discredit among mankind. They may be perhaps beguiled for a while with the speciousness of a name, but when experience has made them sensible of the evil consequences, it will soon become a name of reproach and abhorrence, as much as ever it was esteemed a privilege

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and a blessing before: nor is there any thing more dangerous to religious or civil rights, than a mistaken or outrageous zeal for either. Even liberty of conscience respects only the free exercise of those we esteem religious duties, but does not justify us in obstructing other persons in the like exercise of what are judged so by them: for this would be falling into the common error of placing our own liberty in the right of cramping that of our neighbour.

Therefore I can come so near to the exceptionable passage in Tillotson's sermon upon Joshua xxiv. 15. preached before King Charles II. as to think it no breach of the liberty belonging to private persons to overthrow a form of religion established. For though there are cases wherein this might lawfully be done without waiting for a special commission from heaven authenticated by miracles, yet those cases must be such as shall make the omission of it sinful. A man to merit excuse for so doing, must believe himself authorized and enjoined thereto by the precepts of the Gospel: so that his act is matter of obligation and necessity, not of liberty, any more than paying his debts, or saving the life of one whom he can rescue from danger. And if the punishment of him be wrong, it is so, not as being an infringement

ment of his natural rights, but as exacting obedience to the commands of men preferable to those of God.

Liberty has commonly been joined with property as necessarily standing or falling together: but how can a man be said to enjoy his property, or the liberty of making what uses are to be made of it, unless all other persons be restrained from reaping the corn he sows? Nor can there be liberty to pursue any plan, for the benefit of mankind, while there is liberty left to all others to obstruct its operations. And the case is the same with respect to communities, who can no more carry their salutary plans into execution while liable to continual interruption from any quarter, than a private man can avail himself of his property. Therefore the law and the magistrate are armed with authority to restrain the wanton and the selfish from giving such interruption, that so there may be free course for every good provision to take its full effect: the preservation of which free course, and consequently the maintenance of a proper authority, is a species of liberty as much as any other more commonly understood by the name.

Nevertheless, it must be owned, that power, either through design or mistake, is sometimes extended farther than necessary for the

the purposes above-mentioned, in which case it becomes pernicious to liberty: and then he that can, will merit applause, by refusing submission to it himself, and lessening its influence upon other people. But all opposition upon any other motive, and even upon that motive if hastily taken up without good grounds to support it, must be pronounced licentiousness, refractoriness, or at best, inconsiderateness.

Every impediment thrown against the exercise of a power, whether belonging to private persons or communities, or rulers entrusted by them with authority, comes within the definition of Restraint, and the exemption from it within that of Liberty, but since the powers of men frequently interfere their operations being incompatible with one another, the interests of liberty will be best supported by securing a free scope to those which are most beneficial. This then is the proper subject of careful examination by such as find themselves prompted to employ the means in their hands for obstructing the schemes and endeavours of others, namely, the consequences expectant upon following or forbearing to follow their impulse: for nothing deserves the name of liberty, from whence more damage than profit will redound upon the whole.

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3. One of the most valuable liberties of mankind is that of forming into societies, and enjoying the benefit of regulations made for public order and convenience, whether fallen into by general agreement among themselves, or established by governors to whom the care of making public provisions has been committed by the constitution of the community: and he that should endeavour to propagate opinions tending to disunite or disturb the society, to weaken the authority of those regulations, or hinder the good effects of them, would be an infringer of that liberty, and consequently a proper object for the restraint of the law. Therefore in ascertaining what liberty may be allowed to be taken with the liberty of mankind above mentioned, consideration should be had which of the two liberties is the more valuable, and whether of the restraints is likely to be attended with the greater inconvenience and mischief to the public. But I believe if it were fairly considered how great indulgence is given in this country to every conscientious declaration of a man's sentiments, how large a freedom to all kinds of sober argumentation, and that none other restraints hang over us unless against wantonness, self-conceit, anger, and indiscretion, which may do hurt to the vulgar and unwary: there

there will be found much less inconvenience in obliging private persons to suppress some of their sparkling notions, than in a general licence to throw out indiscriminately whatever comes into their fancies.

We are a religious as well as civil community, and rules have been stablished for our guidance in both; nor could it be otherwise, for the people will have some imaginations or other concerning the things unseen: if you do not provide them with a rational system, they will run after conjurors, diviners, tales of fairies and apparitions, and lie open to the first crafty or enthusiastic deceiver who thinks fit to take them in hand. For Nature has given us all a propensity to look further than the bare objects of sense, which propensity is capable of being turned to excellent or pernicious purposes: therefore it is highly expedient, that due order should be taken for the management of this, as well as of our other appetites, which are the objects of civil government. And it is likewise fitting, that what order is taken should have the protection of the laws, which are not more scrutinizing into the sentiments upon matters of Religion, than of civil polity: for no man is allowed to say whatever he pleases of the latter.

If there be any man so wrong-headed as

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to fancy the privilege of certain persons against the common process of law for their debts unjust, and oppressive upon the subject; while he keeps his notion to himself, nobody will question him about it: or if he happens to drop it inadvertently, I suppose no notice would be taken: but if he takes pains to publish and maintain it in the world, he would very soon be had up before his betters, and incur the censure of that house whom we all regard as the guardians and protectors of our liberties, as well of thinking as acting. But what more is desired on behalf of the Church, than that if any man entertains in opinion subversive of her doctrines, he should keep it to himself, and not endeavour to propagate it in public?

4. Nothing need be urged here to prove the expedience of inculcating a sense of Religion among the people: but multitudes want either capacity or leisure to think sufficiently upon this subject, of themselves: they may pass some judgment upon particular points or arguments proposed to them, but could never form a compleat and consistent system: greater multitudes would bestow very little thought upon it, unless continually reminded or exhorted thereto: and none have any judgment of their own so early as it is necessary to imbue them with

principles to be the foundation of their future reasonings. Therefore the polity of a nation would be defective, if there were no provision made for instructing the ignorant, warning the thoughtless, and educating children: but how can such provision be made, without a summary of doctrine and set of articles composing the system to be taught? For would you have a law enacted that the people shall be duly instructed, and that parents should educate their children, without giving the least direction in what manner, or upon what points the instruction and education shall be carried on? This would be leaving mankind in their state of Nature, and withholding that benefit of a community which might be procured by persons in public character, whose extensive views and large information may enable them to discern what is expedient for the generality, and guard against specious notions drawing pernicious consequences, not foreseen by persons in private station.

In the infancy of a Religion the principles of it may be few; but when those few come to be branched out by comments, inferences and corollaries, grafted thereupon, some of them perversions and corruptions of the originals, it will be necessary to make a more copious provision for correcting those enormities. We ought to presume the compilers

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of our Articles framed such as in their judgment contained the soundest system of Religion, and most expedient for instilling salutary sentiments into the minds of the people. As they were men, they certainly were not infallible; and in articles prepared for national use, there may possibly be something occasional, not necessary for the maintenance of true Religion at all times, but calculated upon the condition of the present: if any thing of this sort should appear, there is a legislator always in being who may rectify whatever, upon proper examination, might be found amiss, and accommodate what might be judged unsuitable to the temper and occasions of our own times.

And for the manner of understanding them, this may be and has been accommodated to the current ways of thinking, by tacit consent of the people themselves: for whoever will examine the writings of the last century, comparing them with those of our cotemporaries, may perceive, that although we still retain the same set of articles, we find in them much less of the mysterious, the marvellous, and the magical, than our forefathers did a hundred years ago. Therefore I hope it will be allowed a lawful and honest intention, however defectively executed, with which I go through my present

labours; for implicit faith will not go down now-a-days: men are not easily silenced without being convinced, nor will they be made to swallow mysteries, to them unintelligible, by the drenching-horn of ecclesiastical authority. It is then working in service of the Church to endeavour showing, that without change of a single word in her doctrines, they may be so expounded as to render them consistent with the discoveries of Reason and Philosophy, and to bear standing a close inspection by the light of Nature.

If the system of doctrines established is believed beneficial by those who have in charge to make provision for the public welfare in all its parts, it is natural and incumbent upon them to have the benefit secured by the protection of laws; and this is all that is had in view: for if the vulgar, who want the aid of public provisions most, are not disturbed in the enjoyment of them by jokes and sophisms, and other attacks upon things recommended to them as sacred, the law is satisfied. It makes no inquisition into men's private sentiments, nor discourses among their friends or in their families, nor whether they breed up their children in orthodox principles: neither does it prohibit the publication of works not perfectly reconcileable with orthodoxy, provided they do not directly

directly tend to shake the poular tenets. For Berkeley's denial of body, space, and motion, Hartley's performing all human action by the mechanical impulse of vibratiuncles, and Burnet's theory of the earth, must I doubt be counted heterodox by a rigid believer in the thirty nine articles: yet they never fell under the lash of the law, nor even suffered in their reputation of being good men, and pious Christians.

As for those things which some affect to call persecutions, they are civil and not ecclesiastical provisions: Tythes and Church rates are not levied upon the Quaker by authority of the Articles, but of the common and statute laws. The former of those payments are sometimes lay estates, wherein the Church has no concern: and it is easy to see how ruinous it must prove, so far as to unstring the very sinews of government, if the plea of conscience was admitted to exempt any man from the payment of money. You would find a sect spring up in the home counties, who would pronounce all taxes unjust that are not equally laid: so because the northern and western parts contribute a small proportion to the land tax, it would go against their consciences to pay any. Others would quote the Craftsman and Johnson's dictionary, to prove all excises wicked

wicked things: therefore would scruple submitting to any upon their malt, or their beer. In short, we should grow so squeamishly conscientions, that the Parliament would never be able to find ways and means for raising the supplies without the severities of a persecution.

The discouragements cast upon the Papists were designed for security of the state, not upon account of their religious principles: and if the dissenters are accidentally involved in some of them, it is not a clog upon their liberty of thinking or acting, but only an exclusion from places of profit or trust. Nor does it prove a bar to the most sensible among them, who consequently are fittest to serve the public; for we find they can conform occasionally, just enough to satisfy the law. As for others, who are not likely to be ever the better if the bar were taken off, I would intreat them to examine whether it is really conscience the bar lies against: for there are other springs of action that will veil themselves under the appearance of conscience. The heart of man is deceitful above all things, extremely hard to be fathomed even by the owner, so as to distinguish the true motives of proceeding upon every occasion, from plausible colourings occurring in justification of them. There is an attachment

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to the customs one has been bred up in, a shame of departing from old acquaintance, a fear of incurring their secret dislike, a trouble and aukwardness at being put out of one's way by new forms: and the reluctance springing from those causes may easily be mistaken for scruples of conscience.

Nor is it so likely that conscience should interfere in the case now as in former times, for when a superstitious value was placed in externals, it might go against the conscience to countenance the superstition by joining in the use of them: but now that nobody regards them otherwise than as expedients for decency and order, the superstition lies on the other side in imagining them to contain an intrinsic depravity which will vitiate the purest devotions of the heart: therefore it must be a very particular constitution of conscience that should make it boggle at them. I do not urge this with a desire that either the public or private persons should interfere in matters of conscience: I only mean to exhort every man to study carefully his own motives, and know what are those which really actuate him; for there are frequent and flagrant mistakes committed in the world upon this article. And since I suppose it will be acknowledged that a voluntary, not compulsive uniformity of Religion

gion would be a desirable thing, it behoves every man to consider how far the regard to old friends, old customs and habits, will justify him in forbearing to contribute his part towards so desirable an event: the judgment belongs to none other than to himself, only let him make it maturely upon thorough and impartial examination of the cause.

But why should we complain of the laws in force for preservation of our Religion, when those made for security of the state go a great deal farther, yet without affording a handle for finding fault to the most zealous asserters of liberty? for our political creed is more narrowly scrutinized into, than our religious: inquisition is made there into our private sentiments and the secret thoughts of our heart. It is not enough to behave quietly and submissively under all lawful commands of the magistrate, to make no endeavours to propagate an opinion contrary to the act of Settlement, nor even drop a word in disparagement thereof: but we are called upon solemnly and sincerely to declare upon oath, that without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever, we do believe in our conscience the Pretender has not any right to the crown of this realm. It will not suffice that we never try to persuade any body, nor maintain either in writing or discourse,

discourse, that Princes deprived by the Pope may be deposed: but are required to swear, that we do from our heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position.

The law in both cases will not rest contented with obliging people to keep their thoughts to themselves; but insists upon knowing whether they are orthodox, and that under penalty of being subject to double taxes. Observe further, that this last declaration may seem, in some people's understanding, to contain a matter of mere opinion: for they may conceive that declaring a thing damnable upon oath, is the same as swearing they believe every man must be damned who holds it. Now though it is certainly of concern to the state, whether an English subject holds this position himself; yet it seems a mere speculative question, whether he believes that all other persons whatsoever and wheresoever, who do hold it, shall assuredly be damned for their impiety and heresy.

5. Having taken notice of this eagerness of style we are enjoined to use in the most solemn expression of our loyalty, I shall venture a short comment upon it: not merely by way of dissertation, but as leading into a clearer understanding of what little I have further

further to offer upon the subject of this Chapter. It would be highly irreverent to suppose the wisdom of the nation could be so possessed with a paroxysm of zeal, as, like a common swearer, to throw out a string of passionate words without weighing their import: therefore we must seek for some rational meaning in the epithet Damnable.

As openness of heart is now universally and justly esteemed an honour to the posessor, we may without offence suppose the legislature did not themselves believe that every poor villager in Spain and Portugal, bred up from his cradle under the Jesuits, who should really believe in his conscience that the Pope had full power ecclesiastical, and temporal, over all nations upon earth, would certainly go to the Devil for that error: therefore could never intend, that by calling the position damnable, we should understand it must necessarily damn every person without exception who should be deluded into it. But we must presume they regarded the doctrines contained in the Act of Settlement as necessary to the salvation of the State, and the Papal authority here so palpably absurd and groundless a notion, that nobody in this enlightened country could entertain it without his judgment being blended by some party madness

madness, or private interest, or seditiousness and turbulence of disposition, or other damnable perverseness, inconsistent with that temper of mind which is our preparation for future happiness: and they judged it expedient for the public security, to throw a discouragement upon all who would not declare the same upon oath.

Upon this construction it appears that our Governors concerned themselves solely with preserving the peace and safety of the constitution, and with the sentiments of persons under their jurisdiction, nor had any thought of foreigners, nor of deciding what doctrines and positions might be fatal or innocent to them: why then may not we understand the Church with the like restriction, where she pronounces upon an article of Faith? For those who clamour against her as an enemy to liberty, object, that besides the sanction of laws restraining them from gaining the superlative credit they might raise by their wit and shrewdness; she endeavours to blast their character in the world by teaching her children to condemn them as reprobates devoted to eternal perdition: therefore, they must be careful to keep their tongue between their teeth, lest if they should drop out a disrespectful word against any form or ceremony, or unintelligible theorem esteemed sacred, they

they should be thought wicked men capable of every thing bad. And this they call an infringement upon the liberty of thought, because I suppose they have such an incontinence of tongue, as to render it unsafe for them to think what they must not utter.

But if they meet with this treatment from any body, why should they charge it upon the Church? for they may well know that children will get many notions in their heads they were never taught by their masters: and they ought to be the more candid in this case, because they themselves are liable to the like infirmity of judging hardly of others for an article of belief; for if they hear any body drop a word in favour of miracle, prophecy, or revelation, or use the words Faith, Grace, Sanctification, or the like, seriously, they presently know him to be a weak man, half-witted, capable of being persuaded into any thing silly, and undeserving to be dealt with as a rational creature; which is their kind of anathema.

But the Church, like our temporal Governors, must be presumed to concern herself only with those under her authority: she decides nothing concerning the Turks or Tartars, or others out of her pale. It became her to enjoin the cultivation of such sentiments as she esteemed salutary to persons who would

listen

listen to her, to point out such as would overthrow the good purposes intended by them, and to warn against any who might discover a disposition to insinuate notions contrary to those she had recommended. This is no more than what I suppose our objectors themselves would do: they would instruct their pupils in some system of opinions; would tell them, This is a useful principle necessary to be kept in mind, This is a fatal mistake, This a pernicious absurdity; and would caution them against persons instilling opposite notions. Therefore her children may learn from her to stand upon their guard against opinions she condemns as heretical, and against persons who give just cause to suspect their being infected with them: If they go further to pronounce upon the persons themselves, in what condition they stand with respect to their own salvation, it is an excursion of their own beyond the bounds prescribed them, for they have no warrant from her for so doing.

6. The harshest expression I can recollect, is that used in the eighteenth article, where is declared, that those are to be holden accursed who presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth: but why should we give the Accursed here a larger compass than the Damnable

Damnable in the oath of abjuration? or understand any more thereby, than that he should have her members look upon it as a pernicious and fatal error, to imagine the choice of one's Religion a matter of indifference, to be made at pleasure lightly, or upon temporal convenience, amongst all that are current in the world; and would have them shy of persons attempting to justify that error, as dangerous persons for them to converse with.

Nor yet is this a decision of her own making, but a repetition of that made in the Gospel, which declares, He that believeth is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. Now in order to determine the latitude of the word Accursed in the article, let us go to the fountain head, and examine whether the condemnation in the Gospel be so rigid as to extend to all persons whatever, who are not Christians. In the first place I presume it will be admitted, that the Scriptures were given solely for our instruction in matters of faith and practice, not to satisfy our curiosity upon points of speculation: now I conceive it to be matter of mere speculation, no ways affecting our interests, what shall be the fate of any other man,

man in the next world; therefore we are to look for no information there, nor construe any thing therein as a decision upon that point. But if this be not enough, let us turn back to the verse immediately preceding, where we may find that God sent not his Son into the world, to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.

We learn from St. Paul, that God left not the heathen world without a witness of himself, having manifested his eternal Power and Godhead by the things that were seen, and that the Gentiles, not having the law, were a law unto themselves by means of that written in their hearts; but a law implies some benefit to be obtained by obedience thereto, nor have we any foundation to imagine, the Gentiles before Christ might not find acceptance with God. If then he sent not his Son to condemn the world, they could not be put into a worse condition than they were in before; and if he sent him to save the world, observe, the world is here used collectively, and since as I have shown in the Chapter on divine Economy and elsewhere, there is a general interest of the species, and a progress of human nature towards perfection, faith in Christ may be necessary for the salvation of mankind, and yet not necessary for that of every particular

ticular person. Or should it be proved universally necessary, still those arguments deserve consideration which I have offered in the Chapter on Redemption, to show, that an opportunity may be given for embracing it in the next world to such as had none afforded them here.

Then if we go on to the next verse following, we shall see what are the grounds of censure and who the persons incurring it. This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. Here appears to be a voluntary choice made between darkness and light, by persons severally conscious of evil or good deeds; but the good deeds spoken of two verses below, as being manifested by the light, must be such as were performed before coming thereinto: therefore it is possible that persons not in the light may do good works wrought in God, and consequently be good men accepted before him. Since then a criminal infidelity must be a wilful rejection of the light because of evil deeds, we can never know a man's character merely by his creed, even among persons who converse daily with Christians: for there are so many various ways of conception, so many absurdities and corruptions sometimes fastened upon our holy

holy Religion by its professors, as may turn it into a darkness impenetrable by the most careful eye. Nor unless we could pry into the heart to discern all the motives operating there, can we safely pronounce upon any man, whether he refuses to come into the light of free choice, or through misapprehension and invincible ignorance.

It is necessary for our own security to judge upon actions and sentiments, that we may know how to take our measures properly, and what degree of vigilance to apply for, avoiding such as would be poisonous to us, in proportion to their degree of virulence. But there are wide differences as well in the mental as bodily constitutions of men; and as poisons are some of the vital juices in scorpions, vipers, and many animals, so there may be men in whom poisonous opinions are innocent, or even contributive to their health of mind; but it is our duty to think the best of every one. For the same God who created the glorious stars in their constellations, created also the crooked serpent, whom we must therefore believe complete in his nature and useful in the situation wherein he is placed: for when God looked upon all the works that he had made, behold they were very good. It behoves us then to beware both of the natural and metaphorical ser-

pent, to keep out of his way lest he bite us; but we have nothing to do with the light wherein he stands before his Maker.

Therefore what severe expressions we read against the Scribes and Pharisees, and others, we must presume were given the Jewish converts for the hardness of their hearts, because they were too gross to distinguish in their aversions between the man and his opinions: but it was not so from the beginning, that is, not in the original design of the Gospel. And we may say to the rigid and censorious, as Jesus did to the disciples who wanted to call down fire from Heaven, Ye know not what spirit ye are of: certainly not the spirit of Christianity, which is a doctrine of peace and love, and of that Charity which believeth all things, hopeth all things, and thinketh no evil, So it is no proof of our orthodoxy, that we are forward to judge other persons, but a direct opposition both to the spirit and letter of the Gospel, for it is one of the precepts in the sermon upon the mount, Judge not, that ye be not judged; and and if there be any practice deserving our detestation as impious, heretical, and damnable, surely this must be so, which Christ has expressly declared, will draw down judgment upon the practisers.

CHAP. XXVI.

DOING ALL FOR THE GLORY OF GOD.

WE have now traversed the holy ground of Religion taking with us the candle of Reason to assist in discovering those spots that had been obscured by error, misapprehension, and injudicious zeal: we have found all the Buildings there erected upon the basis of human nature, calculated to supply its most pressing wants, and so contrived as to join in one uniform plan with the structures of soundest Philosophy. We have adventured, but with reverential and cautious boldness, to approach the sacred mysteries, have minutely examined the theological Virtues, which are the sum of all the law and the prophets, and I may add of the Gospel too, traced the divine economy along the steps taken for perfecting the human species, and enquired into the nature and efficacy of those called divine services, and of the ritual, endeavouring to clear them from the idea of magic and arbitrary command, too frequently annexed by the ill-designing, or the unwary. It is now time to issue forth from the sanctuary into the open world, that we may there

exemplify in our practice the good sentiments we have stored up in our hearts: for we have seen that divine services are not righteousness in themselves, they are only if duly performed the sure means of attaining it, and necessary expedients for keeping it alive; even Faith, though the sole saving principle, is better strengthened by works done in pursuance of its impulses, than by any devotions or meditations whatsoever.

And the very precept which I have taken for the text of this Chapter, though at first sight it may appear to attach us more closely to our religious exercises, yet upon a nearer inspection will be found relative to our commerce in the busy world. For we cannot live always in a Church, we cannot pass our whole time in hymns and hallelujahs; the supplies of our natural wants demand a share of our attention, the care of our families, the duties of our calling, the defence of our persons, properties, and characters against injuries and dangers, and the intercourse among mankind must not be neglected.

If then we are to do all things for the Glory of God, we must learn to do these things for that end; for since they must be done, if we have not that principle to actuate us in the doing, we shall fall defective of our obedience: hence it becomes a considerable

siderable part of Religion to study how we may fulfil what we owe to the divine glory in the common transactions of life; a harder science to be attained, than that of paying our devotions rightly at the altar. For here the solemnity of the place, and all around us, help to lift our hearts to heaven, and nothing more is needful than vigilance to keep our thoughts attentive to their object; but to sanctify our business, our conversations, our pleasures, to keep steady along the line of our grand aim when there are a thousand by-objects soliciting on all sides, this is a difficult task to manage; so difficult, that to many it will seem impossible.

For they will be apt to say it is not in human nature to have God always in the thoughts: dangers, pressing necessities, and urgent engagements will force our whole attention from us, the transactions of the world severally require a train of imagination peculiar to themselves, familiar conversation and necessary recreation are not of a nature to mingle with heavenly ideas. All this is very true, but why should they think it necessary, that to do all things for the Glory of God we must have him always in the thoughts? I can see no reason for such an apprehension unless from the injudicious zeal of some writers, who seem to require perpetual devotion of mind

even

even in the most trifling employments. Whether they really mean so much as they express I cannot take upon me to determine, their admirers will not allow them capable of this extravagance, but insist they are to be understood with some restrictions: if so, they are surely to blame for not having marked out those restrictions, for the strain wherein they talk of a devout intention running through all our actions universally, is enough to make an unweary reader imagine he is to buckle his shoes, to wash his hands, to call for the newspaper at a coffee-house, with a direct intention of pleasing God thereby, or they will be so many sins and desertions of his service.

But besides that such incessant adoration is utterly impracticable, it would be mischievous in many cases; for there are vile and trivial offices whereto we are subjected unavoidably by the condition of our nature, as has been already observed in the Chapters on Purity and Majesty, among which to introduce a thought of God must tend greatly to his dishonour, as defiling and debasing the idea of him in our hearts. Thus it is so far from being a duty to have him always in contemplation, that our duty obliges us to banish such thoughts as would intrude upon some occasions, wherein to give them reception

ception would be highly irreverent, and a direct breach of the third commandment: for it is not for the bare sound of words uttered, but for the intemperance of mind giving vent to them, that none will be holden guiltless who taketh the name of the Lord in vain.

2. Nevertheless we are taught, Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God; and reason joins in with the dictates of authority to add her sanction to this precept. The stoics held, that the wise or perfect man would act right because it was right, and therefore would act invariably so, for there is a right and a wrong in every minutest action: he then to whom rectitude is the sole motive, will pursue it in trifles as well as matters of moment: but the unwise, though many times doing right things, never act rightly, because they do them upon some other motive without which they would have omitted them, having no immediate love of rectitude for its own sake.

We have found in the course of this work, that rectitude has not a substantiality or distinct essence of its own, but subsists in the relation to happiness, those actions being right which upon every occasion tend most effectually to happiness. We have acknowledged

ledged that God can receive no benefit at our hands, not the least accession of pleasure or power, or dominion, or greatness from our services, yet is he jealous of his glory, because the glorifying him aright is of the utmost importance to the good of his creatures. It is true there have been many pernicious and destructive things done under pretence of glorifying him, but those were the errors of superstition and intemperate zeal; and so there have been errors in Philosophy and intemperate zeal for virtue, which have caused great mischiefs: but whatever is really and truly done for the Glory of God, advances the happiness of the performer and of his fellow-creatures, and thereby becomes the fundamental rule of rectitude.

But whoever possesses a full and lively sense of the divine Glory, which we have before called the saving Faith, will manifest it in his conduct by a constant readiness to do the Will of God in all things; whereby must not be understood doing the things he is willing should be done, for that we all do without intermission; but doing them upon the motive of their being his Will. For nothing ever befals throughout the universe without the appointment or permission of our heavenly Father; therefore, when we sin, we do what he was willing should be done,

because

because he was able to have prevented us, and his permission of the sin proves him willing to let our wickedness take its course, and is an evidence that some great good will accrue therefrom to the universe, redounding to his glory. Hence it appears, that we cannot be said to do the Will of God unless when we act upon that intention, when we choose one out of several actions in our power, as being in our judgment apprehended most agreeable in his sight, and most conducive to his glory, of any thing we can turn our hands to at present: and whoever could act invariably throughout all parts of his conduct upon this motive, how small soever were his natural talents and acquired accomplishments, would be that perfect or wise man imagined by the Stoics, but never yet found, except once, among the Sons of Adam.

It remains to be explained, how we can act always with intention to do the Will of God without having him always in our thoughts, or how we can pursue an end without holding it in contemplation during every step of the pursuit: and this we may quickly learn by reflecting on the narrowness of our own comprehension, which is seldom capable of retaining the whole plan of a design while attentive to the measures requisite for compleating it. If we may pass a conjecture upon

upon the blessed Spirits above, component parts of the Mundane Soul, they probably never lose sight of their Maker for a moment; because their understanding is so large, that at the same glance it can extend to the Attributes, to the plan of Providence flowing from thence, and to all the minute objects requisite for their direction in performing the parts allotted them in the execution of it: so that while busied in giving motion to little particles of matter for carrying on the courses of Nature, they can discern the uses of what they do, its tendency to uphold the stupendous order of the universe, and happiness of the creatures wherein God is glorified.

But our understandings are far less capacious, wherefore our prospects are scanty, and of those lying within our compass there is only one small spot in the centre that we can discern clearly and distinctly, so are forced to turn our eye successively to the several parts of a scene before us to take the necessary guidance for our measures. When we have fixed upon the means requisite for effecting a purpose, our whole attention to them is often little enough to carry us through in the prosecution, and were we perpetually to hold the purpose in contemplation, it must interrupt and might utterly defeat its own accomplishment. He that travels to

London

London must not keep his eye continually gazing upon Paul's steeple, nor his thoughts ruminating upon the business he is to do, or pleasures he is to take there: he must mind the road as he goes along, he must look for a good inn, and take care to order accommodations and refreshments for himself and his horse. But whatever steps we take in prosecution of some end, are always ascribed thereto as to their motive, and we are said in common propriety of speech to act all along with intention to gain our end, though we have it not every moment in view. So if our traveller come to town upon a charitable design to succour some family in affliction or distress by his counsel, his company, his labours, his interest, or any other seasonable assistance, his whole journey and every part of it, while enquiring the way, while bustling through a crowd, while baiting at the inn, was an act of charity performed with a benevolent intention.

In like manner whatever schemes we lay out upon the principle of glorifying God by promoting the happiness of his creatures or any one of them, whether they lead us to the care of our health, or our properties, to common business, or recreation, we may be truly and properly said to act with intention to his Will, though during the prosecution

we

we should be totally immersed in worldly concerns, and taken up with sensible objects.

When busied in my Chapters, labouring to trace the mazes of Providence, and show that in the severest dispensations they never terminate upon evil, how defective soever the performance, the intention seems to be good: after toiling awhile the ideas begin to darken, the mental organs to grow stiff, and the spirits exhausted; I then perceive the best thing I can do for proceeding on my work, is to lay in a fresh stock by some exercise or diversion, which may enable me to resume the microscope and telescope with recruited vigour. So I sally forth from my cavern in quest of any little amusement that may offer: perhaps there is an exhibition of pictures; I gaze around like Cymon at Iphigenia, with such judgment as uninstructed nature can supply; I meet with my acquaintance; one being a connoisseur in painting entertains me with criticisms founded upon the rules of art, which come in at one ear and go out at the other; others tell me of the weather, of general warrants, of a very clever political pamphlet, a rhapsody of Rousseau's, or a slanderous poem, which because I am a studious man and a lover of wit, they recommend to my perusal: I endeavour to join in the conversation as well as my

penury

penury of fashionable materials will permit, and cut such jokes as I can, to enliven it. If an interval happens wherein there is nothing to engage my senses, presently the Mundane Soul, and links of connection forming the general interest will be attempting to intrude upon me, but I shut them out with might and main, for fear they should draw off the supply of spirits as fast as it comes in: for recreation is now my business, and the sublimest ideas which might draw on a labour of thought, would defeat my purpose. Nevertheless while engaged in this series of trifles, am I not pursuing my main intention, even in the very efforts made for thrusting it out of my sight? and if my first design bore any reference to the divine Glory, may not I be said without impropriety, still to act for the same end more effectually than if I had passed the time in thought-straining fervors of prayer, and devotion?

S. Since then whatever under purposes branch out from one princple, and were taken up because conducive thereto, are esteemed parts of that, and every thing done with a view to accomplish them is done for the main end whereto they conduct; since the ability, instruments, materials, and opportunities for performing the most important services we are capable of, depend much upon

upon the condition of body and spirits, upon external accommodations and conveniencies, and upon our intercourse among mankind; and since upon every trivial occasion there is a right and a wrong choice to be taken, some little present accession or remote advance to be made towards encreasing the stock of happiness in the creation, wherein the divine Glory is manifested: I conceive it possible in theory, that a man may lay out his whole plan of conduct, his common actions and amusements as well as his devotions and exercises of virtue, upon that one foundation, the Glory of God. So that in the business of his profession, in the management of his family, in the cares of his health, in his contracts and his contentions, in his familiar conversations, his diversions and pleasures, whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does, he may be truly said to do all with intention to please God, though he has him not always in his thoughts; provided the several intentions he successively pursues became such upon an opinion of their being the properest measures could then be taken for contributing towards that principal end.

But before I begin to explain my notion in what manner this may be done, I shall premise two observations, very needful to be kept in mind for our better success in the attempt.

attempt. One, that such perfect holiness of life, although possible in theory, I do not apprehend feasible in practice: the other, that we shall make a nearer approach by considering it as a desirable advantage, than being driven to it by fear as an indispensable obligation.

We cannot get so entire mastery over our passions and appetites, but they will often impel to action without waiting for our command, and many times we have not understanding to discern what relation our present proceedings bear to our principal concern, so must take guidance from inferior rules and desires, or shall stand wholly inactive. Wherefore it is commonly supposed, that our provisions for this world and for the next, have their distinct provinces belonging separately to each; sometimes we are to labour for one, and sometimes for the other: for to make one in every single instance subservient and aiding to the other, however conceivable in speculation and desirable in idea, is beyond the skill of mortal man to compass. This must be acknowledged true: for my part, I cannot pretend to come near it, nor do I know the man that does; but we have all reason enough to join in the confession. We have not done those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought

ought not to have done, and there is no health in us. To what purpose then may it be said, is a plan of conduct requiring the soundest vigorous health prescribed to us, who can never expect to execute it with our infirm diseased constitutions? To this purpose, because by constant diligence we may rectify some of the disorders in our spiritual body, and since we know not in what particulars that may be capable of amendment, it behoves us to try in all, and extend our aim beyond our expectation, for so we are warranted to do by the best approved authorities.

The Stoics proposed their consummate Wise-man for their model, which yet they owned was an ideal character nobody could come up to: we Christians are taught to look up to the perfect pattern of unsinning obedience, of endurance and forbearance in all trials, which our Master has set before us, who has likewise expressly enjoined us to be perfect, as our Father which is in heaven is perfect. Which absolute perfection cannot be an indispensable duty necessary to Salvation, because it far exceeds our forces, and whatever is impossible to compass, cannot be a duty, but is propounded only as a constant object of our wish and desire. Therefore we need not be terrified on finding ourselves fall short of it, nor uneasily anxious for the success of our endeavours;

endeavours; for an over solicitude retards the speed and misguides the judgment. Accordingly we find that those who proceed under the strongest idea of obligation to perpetual holiness, too frequently mistake the essence of it, which they place in continual fervors of devotion, and extraordinary exercises of virtue, despising the common transactions of life as unworthy their notice: by which means the greatest part of their time, unavoidably spent in worldly concerns, appears lost to them, and they find very few portions of it wherein they can be conscious of proceeding upon the motive of their duty. Whereas if they had a well-grounded persuasion, that the Glory of God and happiness of the creatures were convertible terms, every thing well and truly done for the one being done for the other, they would pursue them as matters of inclination and profit, rather than of command and duty, which of course must banish fear, for so long as a man can proceed upon an habitual, sincere desire of pleasing God, he need never stand in fear of the devil; and their minds would be more at ease to examine the remote tendencies of their actions, and dicover little profits to be made of those which are not productive of greater.

Thus the idea with which we shall be likely to make the largest progress in our

work is this to esteem absolute perfection an invaluable treasure, the ultimate object of our wishes, but without expectation of ever attaining or even making any large strides towards it, yet fond of every little advance that can be made thereto as a profit gained: for this will always be the case with him who has any purpose strongly at heart, if he despairs of effecting it compleatly, he will be vigilant, industrious, and joyful to compass it partly, in every instance where he can.

It is commonly said, a trader will never grow rich who despises small gains; and with equal truth it may be said the man will never grow virtuous who despises small accessions to his virtue. Therefore as we are taught to learn prudence from the unjust steward, in like manner we may take the wise of this world for our standard, whereby to try the sincerity of our love of rectitude, or zeal for the divine glory. The merchant enters upon his traffic without bounds to his wishes, he would be glad to get a million if he could, but judging that impossible, he fixes his expectations lower: he pursues them without anxious solicitude which would not help him forward nor does he think himself undone if he should fall short of them; nevertheless, if an opportunity chances to offer for surpassing them, he will embrace it joyfully

joyfully, for he proceeds by desire, not by fear; and his desire will keep him attentive to all advantages for improving his fortune, making the most of such as are present, when greater do not fall in his way. So the man who seeks to make a fortune in heaven will wish to become a Saint, or an Angel if it were possible, but knowing this far above his strength, he will not expect to run extraordinary lengths, nor give himself over for lost if he should fail of them: for being persuaded that all good things proceed originally from the divine bounty, he will rest content with whatever portion as well of spiritual as temporal estate, the courses of nature or Providence shall put into his power to acquire: yet being sensible the acquisition must be of his own making, his content will not abate his industry, which is not the less for being void of such solicitude as might obstruct its operations; if opportunities unexpectedly offer for making great improvements, he will pursue them eagerly; when no considerable profit accrues, he will contrive how to turn whatever lies before him to some account, the best whereof it is capable. For where the treasure is, there the heart will be also; and where the heart points, thither the feet will be moving forwards by any passage that opens.

4. Having laid down these preliminary

cautions, I shall now proceed to draw out my notion of the perfect Wise-man or Christian Sage, acting always invariably for the Glory of God, which yet I acknowledge an ideal character, not to be found exemplified in any corner of the earth; and shall endeavour to trace the steps by which he arrives at such perfection, wherein I do not pretend to speak upon experimental knowledge, but only in speculation, as describing the progress through a country I never saw.

His first step I apprehend must be by a thorough conviction of his judgment, that acting for the divine Glory is acting most for his own benefit: for while he pursues that end because continually chimed in his ears, because it will raise his character above the rest of mankind, because he shall incur the divine vengeance by neglecting it, custom, or vanity, or fear, is his real motive, and the Will of God only a secondary aim, subservient to the others. Those motives may be expedient and necessary for rousing the thoughtless to a sense of their duty, but they are only avenues leading into the right way, nor is any man set in it until he can proceed with a hearty desire of advancing therein, without other incitement to drive him: which desire cannot be acquired without his being perfectly satisfied, that it will

conduct

conduct to happiness more effectually than any other way he can take.

For I have observed all along, that Self lies at the bottom of every thing we do; in all our actions we constantly pursue the Satisfaction expectant on something apprehended beneficial in our judgment, or soothing in our fancy: the purest affections grow from one or other of those roots, and the sublimest of our virtues must be engrafted upon the former; therefore the love of God, to be sincere and vigorous, must spring from a settled opinion of his goodness and beneficence, and that every act of conformity to his will is beneficial to the performer.

Now to have this foundation firm and stable, it will be necessary to examine the ground whereon it lies: such as are so happy as to repose an entire confidence in the dictates of authority, are taught from thence that God will love those who love him, and will give them unspeakable rewards with his own hands in proportion to the endeavours wherewith they have strove to live in constant obedience to his commands. But there may be some persons less pliant to conviction, desirous of having the doctrines taught them explained, and corroborated by human reason, and believing God the Author of universal Nature, which he wanted neither power nor intelligence

gence to plan out in such manner as should answer all his purposes in every minute particular, they may think it more consonant with this idea to suppose, that reward accrues by natural consequence of the provisions made in the original constitution of things, than that it should be conferred directly by an occasional act of Omnipotence.

If there be any thing in the foregoing sheets conducive towards explaining how this may come to pass by means of the spiritual body and the general interests, it will deserve their consideration: but by whatever process they arrive at their conclusion, it will behove them to proceed calmly and cautiously, that there be no breaks nor weak places in the line, to examine well their several deductions, to see they follow closely and evidently from one another. This conviction being well established, there need no longer be retained any thought of Self: for it is not uncommon in the investigations of reason, for assent to pass by translation from the premises to the conclusion, which from thenceforward takes the nature of a self-evident truth, assented to upon inspection without aid of any proofs to support it: and so desire is frequently translated from an end to the means believed certainly conducive towards it, which thenceforth become an immediate object of desire, exciting

exciting an appetite thereto without thought of the end that first made them desirable. Therefore in whomsoever the translation is perfectly formed by having thoroughly satisfied his judgment, that consulting the divine glory is consulting his own truest interests, the latter object may safely be discarded as superfluous and cumbersome to his thoughts, and following of course upon the former, which he will take up as his ruling principle of action, the main intention wherein all his schemes and contrivances centre.

5. But bare conviction, how well soever established in the understanding, will not suffice, as resting in speculation alone; for it is apt to grow languid and feeble by time or be overwhelmed by continual converse among objects of a different kind, and it is notorious we have often a very faint sense of things we are fully convinced in our judgments to be true. Therefore the next step in the progress towards perfection I conceive must be, by turning the conviction into an habitual and lively persuasion, possessing the imagination strongly with what was evident to the understanding before; by which way only it will become a practical principle of action.

For persuasion is the spring that constantly actuates our conduct; our pleasures, our pains,

pains, and our desires, except the few excited immediately by sensations, arise from an imagination that the thing desired will prove satisfactory in the possession, which gives a present pleasue in advance made towards it, and an uneasiness on being obstructed in our passage. And though many of our common desires are delusive, because fixing upon objects that will not prove satisfactory when obtained, yet while apprehended satisfactory they will have the same effect upon our mind and our motions, as if they were really so.

Now persuasion in matters relative to Religion is termed Faith, as I have already explained in the Chapter upon that article: when following upon the best use of what understanding we have, it is a right and saving Faith; when built upon prejudice, passion, or vanity, it is a false faith, a superstition, or heresy. Therefore the judgment being well satisfied of the universal dominion of Providence, of the divine Goodness ordering all things for the greatest happiness of the creation, of the connection of interests among the creatures, that doing the Will of God with intention so to do is incomparably more advantageous than doing it accidentally and unknowingly, that every act of such doing will redound to some benefit of the performer,

performer, and that the tendency of actions to the greater good or pleasure of our fellow-creatures here upon earth is our sure direction to know what is agreeable to his Will; these points having gained full credit in the understanding, the business will be to acquire a strong and stedfast faith in them, that they may rise spontaneously to the imagination with a striking vigour and unreserved assent; from whence will naturally grow a serene unmistrustful Hope, and a sincere universal Charity.

Now the practice of religious exercises having, as was shown in the foregoing Chapters, a powerful efficacy to turn conviction into persuasion, and strengthen the theological virtues, the proficient in moral or Christian wisdom will be duly assiduous in prayer, meditation, reading, or hearing, and all other divine services, with a view to invigorate his faith thereby. And he will enter upon them with that sole intention: not with the imagination of their doing a real service or giving a real pleasure to God himself, nor of their being an indispensable obligation, nor in dread of incurring his vengeance upon omitting them, nor for gaining the credit of Saintship, nor for the sake of surpassing others, nor because esteeming them good in themselves; but in expectation of

of fixing the love of God deeper in his own heart, and improving his disposition to labour in all things for the divine Glory.

I am not unapprized that fear, obligation, shame, and the desire of excelling must be employed sometimes and with some persons; for where the true principle is wanting we must supply its place with such succedaneums as can be got, but they are only succedaneums very imperfectly answering the purpose expected from them, nor is devotion ever so compleatly acceptable, as when performed upon inclination, because apprehended a profitable exercise. It is the want of this intention that makes people righteous over-much, which can never be unless a mistaken righteousness placed in the very acts of devotion, and not in the habitual tenor of mind to be produced thereby. Which habit may be compared to the pulse in the human body, supplying life and vigour to the whole, giving the spring to all motions as well natural as voluntary, working smoothly and uniformly, and continuing constantly to beat even at times when we do not perceive it. But raptures, transports, and ecstasies may be compared to brandy: it is an excellent cordial when the stomach is cold or the spirits fatigued, and may be prescribed somewhat copiously to lumpish phlegmatic constitutions;

but

but the continual use of it will infallibly weaken the pulse, and enervate the body, overthrowing that very purpose it was first given to promote.

Thus we see it is not merely the sincerity but the rectitude of intention which gives the full value to our most pious performances, for as St. Paul declared, that if we had all faith so that we could remove mountains yet have not charity, it is nothing; so if we rise early to pray, and sing psalms every third hour of the day, which bespeaks a strong faith of some sort or other, able to remove the mountains of indolence standing in the way of such laborious exercises, yet if there be not a reasonable prospect of encreasing our love of God and of our neighbour thereby, and they be not undertaken with that intention, they are not genuine righteousness, and consequently may be done over-much.

Therefore a rightly-aimed intention will prove a guidance both in the manner and measure of our religious duties; I do not expect that every man should presently discern their particular uses by his own judgment, therefore let him follow the rules of his Church, and example of persons whose character he has an opinion of; presuming they were founded upon good reasons though he may not see them; but let him observe

their

their effect upon his own mind as he uses them, and if upon competent trial he finds they add nothing to his hope in the protection and dispensations of Providence, his heartiness of charity towards God and towards man, and that sound faith in the Attributes which is the support of the other two; much more if they make him gloomy, mistrustful, desponding, peevish, censorious, vain of his piety, or remiss in the duties of his station or common intercourses of kindness, he may be assured of having been faulty in the performance, or that they are not for his purpose, but better forborn than continued.

6. But many a man feels a strong disposition to righteousness during the solemnity of a church service, or pious meditations of his closet, which quickly vanishes away when he becomes immersed again in his ordinary occupations: nor can it ever be known whether a virtue be compleatly formed, or yet but in its embryo state, while kept fostered by the helps that Religion affords, until it can subsist by its own strength amid the bustle of worldly concerns: and when once able to act of itself will gather more vigour and robustness by its spontaneous efforts in good works, than it could have done under the most careful nurture. For this reason it

may

may be presumed that God has subjected us to the necessity of so much attendance to sensible objects; for it had cost nothing to Omnipotence to have provided us food and cloathing as well as air to breathe, without any care or trouble of our own to procure them, that we might have had our whole leisure to employ in praises and adorations in the manner the Seraphs are currently supposed to do. But he has so constituted our nature, as to be made perfect by trials, temptations, and avocations: therefore, though we are not to seek temptations purposely, yet have we cause to rejoice at them when sent by Providence, because then there is also a way provided for our escape in better plight than when we fell into them.

The condition of human nature upon earth, and every thing belonging thereto, is of divine appointment, and we may trust the Power and Wisdom of God for having so ordered it, as that in every particular it contributes some way or other to his Glory; therefore in all our occupations there is something relative to that end, and it is our business to find out the reference: for though we may answer the end undesignedly, yet it has been shown above, that doing what God is willing should be done is not doing his Will,

Will, unless discerned to be such, and entered upon with that intention.

Hence in every measure lying under our option, there is a right or a wrong course to be taken; the right is that which to the best of our discernment will tend to add something, great or small, nearly or remotely, to the good of the creatures, wherein the glory of God is manifested. Nor need we be disheartened at the triflingness of the addition, for if it was all that the opportunity given us would allow, it was all that was wanted for us to do; while we do our best upon the occasion, we do the whole of our duty in that instance, and both follow and strengthen our main intention as well in trifles, as in matters of greater moment.

7. The man then whom we are attempting to describe, will endeavour to lay out his whole plan of conduct upon one basis, beginning with the principal branches from whence the rest are to grow: he will survey his talents, his improvements, his circumstances and situation of life, in order to discern how they may be best turned to answer his main intention, not esteeming it necessary to do important services, but to acquit himself of those whereto he is suited, be they greater or less. For nothing is insignificant

in the hand of Providence who perfects mighty works by a multitude of agents, and assigns a necessary share therein to the feeblest, so that the common labourer and the dairy maid performing their part well, are of equal importance in the eye of heaven with the king and the hero.

Having fixed upon his way of life, and principal courses of employment, he will next consider what aids he may avail himself of for carrying him through them; well knowing that every thing is not to be done by mere dictate of understanding, but recourse must be had to appetite, habit, and imagination, to execute what reason has planned out. For God and nature have given us various appetites, and the situation in society wherein Providence has placed us, throws upon us many aims and desires which we imbibe by example and sympathy before we have any judgment to choose among them: but those springs of action furnished by nature, or fabricated by the courses of Providence, must be presumed to have some good use: on the other hand, continual experience testifies, that they often take an unlucky bias destructive of our principal design.

Therefore the business is not to eradicate appetite, nor those propensities we catch from the world, for then we shall make no

progress

progress in any thing we take in hand, but to study how they may be employed most effectually to answer some good purpose; that if possible they may never run riot, nor begin their play spontaneously, but constantly take the train that discretion and prudence have put them into. So he will cultivate such desire of self preservation, of health, of accomplishment, of the accommodations and conveniencies of life, of advancement, of success in his profession, of approbation and credit, such moral senses, inclinations, and tastes, as may keep him steady and best help him forward in the way wherein he may be most useful to himself, and others with whom he has any connection; always preferring the more beneficial desire before the less, so as to hazard life, or health, or reputation, or ease, whenever the prosecution of some more valuable good shall so require. If pains and troubles fall upon him, or toilsome tasks require his dispatch, he will strive to go through them with as little reluctance and disquietude of mind as possible; for God sends not evils to afflict his creatures, but for some gracious purpose, and whoever receives them as such, and can preserve the most tranquillity under them, best fulfils his will and promotes his glory. Nor will he despise the embellishments, enjoyments, and

pleasures

pleasures of life, nor those little arts and modes which contribute to encrease them: for the Glory of God is manifested in the happiness of the creatures, but happiness consists in the aggregate of pleasures; therefore every smallest pleasure being innocent, that is, unproductive of any subsequent mischief, is a mite added to the sum of happiness, and whatever tends to promote it, does not only not contradict, but is an actual furtherance of his main intention.

But besides the direct addition to happiness that innocent pleasures make of themselves, they may enter as parts into some of the principal lines of the design: for they give a motion and briskness to the business of mankind, they promote commerce and encourage industry, they find employment for the time, whet ingenuity, afford room for prudence and discretion in the management for obtaining them, they associate men more closely together, bring them better acquainted with one anothers characters, capacities, and ways, assist the growth of charity, make them readier and more capable to join in any important work; they help to preserve the health, to keep the vital juices from stagnating, and the spirits from languor; nor is it a small service they do even towards strengthening our religious sentiments by

spreading a serenity and chearfulness over the mind. For we are more strongly affected with what we feel, than what lies only in prospect before us; most of our discontents, our murmurings and distrusts arise from some grinding uneasiness or apprehension of danger hanging over us, but when the heart is at ease within itself, it can take a fair survey of the blessings of Providence, behold with a hearty thanksgiving that bounty which is indulgent even to present gratification, and be in good humour with all around, delighting to communicate the joy it feels; which must avail considerably to strengthen our Faith, to enliven our Hope, and encrease our Charity.

8. Thus the common occupations of life, the appetites, the ordinary pursuits of the world, the familiar intercourse among society, the propensity to diversion and amusements being capable of yielding salutary fruits, our learner in holiness will contrive how he may sanctify them all by turning them to some profitable account. He will form general rules, divide them into others, and from thence by many subdivisions under one another, furnish himself with motives for every occasion that is likely to happen.

But he need not carry the whole chain perpetually in his head, for if he be careful

to hang the several links upon each other without suffering any passion, or prejudice, or secret propensity to slip its own line into his hand, they will carry a general idea of being right, and he will acquire an expertness of judgment or moral sense enabling him to distinguish the right and wrong in every action, upon view, without wanting to refer back to the first foundation. And whatever is done with a consciousness of being right upon the occasion, may be counted done upon the grand principle from whence the opinion of its rectitude was derived, even though appetite and imagination should be the actuating springs: because in this case they do not act originally by their own impulse, but as agents employed in executing the work assigned them.

But there being a difficulty in working downwards from his highest aim, to deduce methodically from thence all the motives which are to guide him in the common transactions of life, he will find it often expedient to proceed the contrary way, endeavouring to hang his ordinary employments upon that aim by observation of the reference they bear thereto, and consideration of what consequence must follow upon their omission. If he were to give over his trade or profession, would the world be better supplied for his

inactivity? if he could throw aside all desire of profit or credit in his profession, should he proceed in it so briskly and effectually? if he sings psalms every third hour, and perpetually hunts sermons to hear preaching of Christ and him crucified, will it make him more industrious or expert in his business, or in any way more serviceable to his fellow-creatures? Were he careless of his health or his estate, or negligent in his economy, would any benefit redound therefrom to himself or the public, or any glory to God? Should he bestow all his goods to feed the poor, why should not that which is a duty and a praise to him, be so to other people? and if all others did the same, would the poor be more industrious, or the world better supplied with accommodations and necessaries, or the honest trader, who does not deal in commodities wanted by the poor, have better custom? Had men no attention to self-interest in making bargains, would there be less imposition or more sagacity, or truer estimation of things passing in commerce? Were they tamely to put up with all injuries, overlook all misdemeanors, nor seek redress from the law upon any occasion, would good order, honesty, and justice abound more in the world? Did he forbear laying out a garden, ornamenting his house,

or taking a tour of diversion he is inclined to, should he bestow his time, his thoughts, or his money to better purpose, either of his own or of the public, in any other way? Did he surcease the common civilities and little intercourses of kindness practised among acquaintance, would he have better leisure to perform more important services? and if these things have their uses, is there not a use in learning the forms and rules which may render him expert in them? Did he abstain from all diversion and pleasure, should he pass the minutes saved from them with more solace of mind, or greater emolument to himself or others; and could they be pleasures, were he totally to damp that taste and appetite which constitute their essence?

9. Having by such enquiries satisfied himself that all these things in their proper seasons, are nearly or remotely subservient in some degree to the main end, he will strive to comprehend them all within his scheme, marshalling each in due order, attentive to important advantages when opportunity serves, but on failure of such, esteeming every little profit that may be made upon the occasion, be it no more than that of a transient amusement, worthy his notice. And as in every engagement how trifling soever, there is an aim to be pursued, he will apply such judgment

judgment and observance to attain it, as the object deserves: but having well settled the reference his under aims bear to the principal, he will follow them severally for the time, taking that for the line of rectitude, which will conduct most effectually to his present purpose.

By this means his outward deportment will appear for the most part nothing different from the carnal and worldly-minded; because he will follow the same pursuits and occupations, proceed under the same views, be actuated by the same appetites and desires, partake in the same engagements and amusements. For Providence has so moulded the desires and inclinations of men, that those who act primarily upon their impulse advance the Glory of God by contributing to the good, the accommodation, and the enjoyment of their fellow-creatures: yet they do not his Will, because not discerning it to be such, nor making that the motive for taking up the other motives which successively influence them. Whereas he who derives his inferior aims from that principle, and suffers them to prevail with him because bearing a reference thereto, though he has nothing of God nor religious subjects in his thoughts during the prosecution of them, may be counted doing the Will of God; because if at any time

they

they appeared contradictory thereto, he could, and would withstand them; and to be paying that obedience which is better than sacrifice, and which sacrifice is no otherwise good, than to bring the mind into. Hence it becomes manifest, that Religion is no such melancholy, laborious, austere, romantic, and forbidding thing, as too commonly imagined, and that it ever appears so, is owing to the rags of disguise sown upon it by craft, by error, superstition, enthusiasm, and inconsiderate zeal. For the common business of life, the cares of our health, of our possessions, of our reputation, our prudence in dealings, our contentions, and animadversions, may be brought to bear a part in it; our appetites, tastes, aversions, and acquired habits may be employed in its service; our familar intercourses, our customary modes and forms of behaviour, our recreations, amusements, and pleasures may be made subservient to it; and we may many times be serving God by doing the same things that are done by those, who never have him in their thoughts. It forbids us no pleasures, but such as we should rue for in the consequences; it enjoins us no labours, but such as a prudent man would gladly undertake for the profits accruing from them; it drives into no troubles, that are not the purchase of greater

greater enjoyments; it doubles the relish of innocent pleasures by a thankful and joyful reflection upon that bounty from whence they flow; it lightens the infirmities of nature and pressures of fortune, by teaching us to consider them as necessary burdens for some important service whereof we shall share in the advantage, and to strive for our present tranquillity of mind in supporting them manfully, it finds constant engagement for our attention, because in every situation there is something to be done which we may esteem a profit gained.

For God and reason bid us be happy, and Religion is but the science of attaining happiness; while pursuing our real advantages, and contriving wisely to increase our stock of pleasures, we do his Will; it is only when for want of thought and contrivance, or of resolution, we follow present pleasure in preference to greater which will be lost thereby, that we disobey and dishonour him: so that we may say no man ever yet offended his Maker, merely by pleasing himself, but by overlooking those evil consequences which such indulgence will draw behind. Whoever, therefore, has arrived at such knowledge of the uses and tendencies of Religion, as will make him discern it to be, what it really is, the true art of pleasure, need no longer think

think of duty or obligation: for when the idea of duty is gone by being turned into inclination and prospect of advantage in those particulars which were the objects of it, no damage can ensue from the loss.

Perhaps it will be urged, that such discernment is not presently to be gained: I believe it is not, nor is any science or skill I ever heard of to be acquired without time and application, and during the progress there will be doubts, difficulties, and perplexities, which yet will gradually lessen. But men are so unreasonable they expect to buy understanding and sentiments as they do wares, ready made, at a shop: if they give orders to their upholder to furnish a house, as soon as he has sent in what is proper, they find themselves instantly in possession of every thing useful and convenient for a family: so they expect that by running over a book of morality by way of amusement, cursorily, forgetting each page as they go on to the next, it should, like the upholder, without further care of their own, immediately throw in, as it were by inspiration, all the good qualities recommended therein. But all the exhortations and reasonings in the world will avail nothing without a spirit of industry to weigh, to digest, and practise them.

For

For it is impossible to compile a system of rules and instructions that shall suit all capacities and answer all occasions, but the learner must add something from his own fund to accommodate them to his particular use. Or could he be supplied with a perfect Vade mecum to carry in his pocket, which should contain directions for every minute case of conduct that could happen, he would go like horse guided by whip and bridle, nor have any use at all for his own observation and understanding.

But what was our judgment given us for, unless to exercise it? and what better have we to do, than employ it for our own benefit? Whoever has such a listlessness as never to stir spontaneously, can only be rouzed by terror, duty, and obligation, and must be kept drudging under those severe task-masters, until experience and practice shall bring him to a discernment of benefit, and a liking in the work. But where there is a willingness, I conceive that as all the precepts of the Law and the Gospel are said to hang upon Charity, so by continually observing the tendencies of actions and dependencies of aims upon one another, he may hang both his greater schemes, and his occasional motives of behaviour upon that one purpose of performing

forming the full part assigned him, in advancing the glory of God, and good of the creation.

10. Nevertheless, there is great caution to be used, that we do not mistake the real dependency of our under aims, nor fancy them hanging upon their proper centre, only because they happen to lie in the line pointing directly towards it; for gross mistakes of this kind are commited daily. I have declared all along, and cannot too often repeat, that nothing is more deceitful than the heart of man, nor harder for him to discover upon many occasions, than his own true motives of conduct. We are apt to take any reasons that may be alleged in justification of our actions for the reasons inducing us to perform them, and if some unthought-of good should result therefrom, are sure to claim the merit to ourselves. The merchant boasts that he supplies the public with useful commodities, finds employment for industrious poor, nurses up seamen, and encreases the customs; but it may be those benefits were purely accidental, and the sole motive carrying him through all his toils was that of amassing riches. The sailor glories in having spread the fame of his country, and made her a terror to remotest nations of the globe; but perhaps the objects in his view during the service

service were none other than pay and prize-money. The politician is necessary to preserve order and good government in the nation: yet possibly the nation might never be half so much in his thoughts as his own power and aggrandizement. Our indecent and outrageous champions for liberty may have given occasion to some little further security being added to it; yet I fear the love of constitutional liberty is so little their passion, that they do not so much as know what it is. Therefore it is not enough that our actions yield a real profit without having good ground of assurance that they were really entered upon with that view, or some derivative view or impulse licensed and encouraged, because being judged conducive thereto.

But when apprized how strong delusion the mind is prone to fall into upon this article, we cannot be too frequent nor too careful in examining our motives closely, tracing them severally to their source, and observing what variety of them might be influencing upon each particular occasion. For I have so good an opinion of mankind as to believe the rule of rectitude does always prevail with them, where there is not some secret bias pre-occupying, or drawing a contrary way.

Therefore if we can certainly know what must have been our motive or motives; if it

were

were not the right one, and are conscious of having gone contrary to them all, this seems the firmest ground we can have to build the assurance above mentioned upon. If the merchant has slipped an opportunity of gain because it might have proved detrimental to the public: if the clamorous patriot has ever been prompted by the love of liberty to speak well of persons he does not like, to resist an impulse of vanity, envy, or petulance: in those instances they may claim the merit of having acted upon a motive of rectitude; and if they have frequently done so, may be satisfied of having a right principle of conduct. For as the weight of goods cannot be better ascertained, than by weighing other things of certain standard against them: so the strength of our principles is best evidenced by their success in overpowering their antagonists. And that our principle may be able to cope with all antagonists it will behove us sedulously to employ every opportunity for nourishing and strengthening it, first by often reviewing the grounds of conviction recommending it to our judgment as the jewel above all price, the sure fountain of happiness; then by pursuing the methods efficacious, for turning that conviction into persuasion, among which in the foremost rank stand our religious exercises of all kinds, as well

well of the Church as the closet, of adoration as meditation, which were given for that purpose, and avail to none other, nor need they to make them inestimably valuable.

Therefore ought we to be duly assiduous in the practice of them, and that we may be so, neither excessive nor deficient in the measure, neither impetuous nor careless in the manner, it will be necessary to see that we enter upon them with a right intention, which is that of answering the purpose above-mentioned: I say to enter upon them, for during the performance it may be sometimes expedient, as has been shown before in the twenty-first Chapter, to take up a temporary persuasion not exactly tallying with the convictions of our judgment. But if we go to our devotions with an expectation of meriting by them, of doing an actual service or pleasure to God, of changing his disposition towards us, of acquiring a pre-eminence in sanctity above our fellows, or with an idea of their being arbitrary commands imposed only to try our obedience, or under terror of punishment upon the neglect of them, they can scarce be called doing the Will of God, because not proceeding from that aim which ought to lie at the bottom of all our proceedings, and rise uppermost to our thoughts in these, I mean

mean the divine Glory manifested in the happiness of the creatures.

I know those other topics are frequently inculcated, and with reason, because necessary where a better cannot be explained or made to touch the heart; for so the schoolboy must be kept to his lesson by the rod and by injunctions, or the lure of applause, because he has not a just sense of the value of learning: but I conceive it is from the urging them too strongly that the extravagancies of the Methodists and others inclining that way have arisen. They may be the proper ways conducting into holiness, but I apprehend we are not fully arrived at it, nor is our Religion pure and rational until we can proceed in the exercises of it with the sole expectation of rivetting and habitualizing the three virtues thereby in our hearts, and obtaining those rewards which are made the natural consequences of them by the provisions of Heaven, ordained for the progress of the human soul through her several stages of existence.

And if this be our proper ultimate point of view, it must be highly important to fix our eye upon it, when going upon those exercises which are designed to give it an influence upon all our other courses of behaviour. But when coming forth from divine services, though

though we cannot expect to retain the spiritual ideas accompanying them, amid the bustle of the world, yet we may take care to preserve the effect of them upon our demeanor in that bustle, by considering our general employments of life or particular occupations of the day that we shall or are likely to be engaged in, how they may be best pursued to our own future or present advantage, or that of others, regard being had to abilities, habits, opportunities, and other circumstances, and to practicability upon each several occasion, and deriving our several aims of pursuit under one another from that grand purpose, the increase of happiness among the creatures: so that whether we work or negociate, or contend, or prosecute, or discourse, or eat, or play, however we may be totally attentive for the time to the object before us, that object may have been recommended to our attention by having traced its reference to some good, either of body or mind, the greatest that was feasible upon the occasion, wherein God is glorified.

A man that has used himself to run over his schemes of conduct for all occurrences, while the spirit of piety raised by his devotions remains fresh upon him, will be able to give a reason for all that he does, not always a pious reason, but always one that grew from

from his piety. If he be asked why he works at his trade, why he takes care of his estate, why he goes to law, or paid a visit, or went to the play, or played at cards yester-evening, to answer, For the glory of God would be untrue; or, if true, would be a profanation of his name, and a spice of that righteousness which is over-much: but he may say, In prosecution of some rule or maxim of behaviour which in his most serious moods he had examined by that standard, and judged more conducive thereto than any others he could have taken upon the particular occasion wherein he follows them.

11. By such practice begun upon an intimate conviction of obedience being our truest policy, I apprehend it may become the fundamental rule of action, the governing principle giving force to all other rules occasionally guiding us, and thereby sanctifying whatever is done under their direction: and though it be not a passion because founded on the soundest reason, yet may have the strength and efficacy of a predominant passion. For it has been laid down by persons most observant of the characters of mankind, that every man has his ruling passion that attracts and swallows up all the rest: I presume we are not to understand them, so strictly, as that other appetites will not so-

licit at intervals when that has no work to carry on: for the covetous man will go to a feast or a play if you treat him, and it interrupts no gainful scheme going forward, though he expects to get nothing but mere entertainment by his compliance; but though his ruling passion lies all the while inactive and unperceived even by himself, it is not asleep, for how deeply soever he be engaged in other amusements, the moment any thing offers to affect his pocket, it will gain his attention in preference to all objects beside; so that we may say his appetites only act by licence granted during pleasure from that. In like manner wherever there is a thorough principle of obedience, it will continually keep awake though not continually finding matter of employment, and though utterly out of sight during engagements in business or diversion, while taken up in trivial, necessary, and base offices incompatible with the sublimity of its ideas, nevertheless, when any thing contradictory to it offers, it will instantly take alarm, or if something practicable for promoting its principal purposes presents, it will immediately fly to the pursuit.

Nor will it, like the ruling passion, barely give licence to other desires and appetites, thereby keeping them within the bounds of moderation

moderation and innocence, but will bring them subservient to its own aim: for knowing what they are severally capable of, and what damage must ensue if they could be totally eradicated, it will find means to use their ministry in carrying on the great design; thus having continual employment to be executed either by itself, or by those its inferior ministers. Neither yet will it want force to attract and swallow up that, which swallows all the rest: for well perceiving the mighty strength of a ruling passion, and how much greater works may be achieved by its aid than by the mere dictate of reason, it will turn that powerful agent into such courses, where it may be most useful, and restrain it effectually from others that might work havoc and devastation.

And whatever is the main spring of our movements will perpetually catch the thoughts at times, when they are not necessarily engrossed by other objects. The covetous man loves to count over his bags, he will not indeed be telling his money, when he should be getting more, but at leisure hours, when he has nothing else to do, he can find entertainment in contemplating his riches, laying schemes for encreasing them, ruminating upon golden projects, and even

feeding his fancy upon wishes of lucky opportunities that are not likely to happen; and in the midst of his most eager pursuits many a pleasing reflection of the profit to accrue from them will occur spontaneously whenever there is room for it, without interruption to the business in hand. So the miser in righteousness will find his thoughts run of their own accord when not called off to other necessary service, he will be continually ruminating upon the ways of Providence, the connection of interests, the bounties of Heaven, digesting and perfecting his schemes of conduct, tracing the reference of his common transactions to their main end, and searching into the uses of every thing that passes around him: and though when necessitated to immerse himself in worldly cares and trivial engagements, he will apply the full attention which the present purpose requires, yet a thought of his obedience, his grand concern, and expectations as citizen of the Universe, will slip in uncalled whenever there is room for it, and it is proper, together with a pleasing reflection that in doing his worldly business he carries on his spiritual, and every pleasure that is innocent is profitable: for God has so ordered his courses of Nature and Fortune, that this life in all particulars is preparatory to the

next,

next, and whatever he calls us to thereby, whether labour or play, though we do not discern, it will work to our advantage.

But this vital principle which ought to be sober, rational, determinate, steady, and uniform, degenerates in some persons too frequently conversant among methodists, and enthusiasts, into a passion; and then takes all the irregularities of that uncertain spring of action; it becomes convulsive and agueish, sometimes boiling in transports and ecstasies, at others stagnating in terrors and despondencies, unable to lay out a regular, practicable plan of conduct, or make the proper junction between religious exercises and the common occupations which Providence has rendered necessary to the condition wherein we are placed, striving to mingle them together as ingredients in the same mess, rather than unite them as distinct members of the same body; whence their piety intrudes unseasonably to the interruption of business, and continually disturbs the operation of the very measures itself had recommended as expedient. Care therefore must be taken for guarding against this corruption, for if the light that is within us be darkness, how great is that darkness! But when the governing principle has been established upon the solid grounds of rational conviction, when the methods

thods have been pursued for turning it into an habitual persuasion, and for distributing its influence among the several engagements of life, in the manner before mentioned, recalling it frequently to mind at convenient times, it will be a principle of reason, sobriety, and discretion, not a predominant passion.

12. And I imagine the business of life would go on never the worse, if men were to take this governing principle for the prime director of all their motions: for it would not lead them into idleness, nor sullenness, nor neglect of their persons, nor insensibility to pleasure or reputation, nor perhaps would it much alter the measures they already pursue. We must have food and cloathing or we cannot live to do any important services, we must take due care of our healths and our spirits, or we shall perform them but feebly and ineffectually, we must gather such innocent enjoyments as Providence has hung in our reach, or we shall become melancholy, unthankful, and murmuring, we must conform to the customs of mankind and join in familiar intercourses among them, or we shall be utter strangers in the midst of society, without means of learning by observation from others, or communicating improvement to them, or doing them any good offices.

The day labourer, the mechanic, the merchant,

chant, the soldier, the mere squire devoid of learning, military skill, or accomplishment, the delicate petit maître versed in no science but that of dress, and cards, and tea-table prattle, the poet, the songster, and the fidler, are of some use in their several stations, contributing more or less to the necessaries, the conveniences, the security, or the amusements of life.

The appetite of hunger, the love of health, the desire of improving our fortune, the regard to reputation and the taste for pleasures respectively urge to the care of our persons, to industry in our professions, to merit the esteem of our companions, and give a relish to our diversions: therefore have their uses, as being necessary to stimulate and carry us through the performance of things useful. It is only the discernment of those uses and reference thereto in entering upon our courses of behaviour, that is wanting to sanctify and render them steps taken in prosecution of our main intent: for where such reference has constantly been practised, nothing will be done originally upon impulse, nor for we know not why, though appetite may be and commonly must be aiding to carry on the work with the strength of its impulse, but appetite always receiving commission to act from the governing principle, whatever measures

sures it impels to which were before accidentally productive of some good, will now become an obedience to the Will of God. And one would think it should prove no small encouragement with men to cultivate a holiness of temper, to see that thereby they may turn most of their habitual attachments and desires into virtues, most of their common occupations, many of their amusements, their trifles, and their follies into good deeds, only by finding out and contemplating the unobserved good uses whereto they were subservient; and thus learn to live unto God without totally departing from the ways of the world.

It scarce needs to be repeated, that when holiness has set appetite his task, and limited the extent of his commission, it must leave the execution entirely to the servant for fear of demeaning and fouling itself among those gross ideas to which the eye must then be held attentive. But if habit and desire be thus inured to discipline, and to take direction from an impartial reference to the grand aim of attaining spiritual happiness by a steady prosecution of temporal among our fellow-creatures wherein God is glorified, it will never run out into spontaneous sallies, nor courses palpably mischievous, nor any thing wherein that reference cannot be traced:

traced: it will lie so quiet when reason and duty command silence, that the left cheek may be turned to him that has smote the right, and he that has taken the coat permitted to take the cloak also, and kind offices be performed to enemies and persecutors; and the whole conduct will be rational, pious, uniform, profitable, and satisfactory.

13. Nor would this principle do hurt to men of the richest talents and highest stations whose ruling passion is name, power, and greatness, which it would not eradicate nor stifle, but employ as an able minister in its own services. For such persons above all others, may be expected never to act upon mere impulse, but to have a Why for all their proceedings: nor is it enough that their measures are dexterously contrived to answer the aim they drive at, unless they know likewise why they took up that aim, and if because conducive to some higher aim, have examined that too, and so pursued their views from point to point to the furthest boundary of human reason.

For to use uncommon judgment and abilities in the attainment of an end, but pursue the end only because their mother taught them, because delighting their fancy, because the constant subject of panegyric, because raising the admiration of the multitude, because

cause every body wishes to attain it, seems a preposterous way of proceeding: it is subjecting the man in servitude to the beast. For wiser heads than mine have of old compared reason and appetite to the rider and his horse: but it would be ridiculous to see a man on first setting out give his horse the choice whether they shall travel north or west, and then exercise the most consummate skill and management for arriving at the meadows two hundred miles off, which he knows his horse is fond of.

For their choice of the ultimate object to be pursued in the journey of life I shall not send them back to the Catechism nor the pulpit, nor pretend to lead them on the process whereby they may find it: for their own judgment, provided they will use it, will direct them better than any instructions by persons of less extensive views and less ample capacities, yet it may save some trouble to suggest a few topics whereon to exercise their judgment. They may please then to consider, whether happiness be not the proper ultimate object for reason to pursue, whether there be any thing else to be found beyond, which renders it desirable, and whether all other things do not become desirable for their tendency to that. Whether happiness stands confined to the gratification

of

of a few years, or that distant good is likewise to be taken into the computation: whence it appears a mere impulse of appetite that would attach them to the splendor of their present situation, were it certainly to be of half a century continuance, but as in the schemes they lay for the prosperity of the nation, they contrive for future ages to the remotest posterity, so prudence and considerate judgment will incline them to consult their own happiness in the most distant futurity. Whether their care to have their names shine in history and be remembered with honour by succeeding generations, be really a concern for the future, or only the gratification of a present appetite; or there be any probable assurance, that they shall know a hundred years hence, or shall feel any real pleasure therein if they do know, what is then said of them, in which case they will reap no other benefit from their fame, than what arises from the contemplation of it while they live.

They may examine what is properly themselves, what only an instrument, habitation, or adjunct separable from them, to which of the two their family, their fortune, their knowledge, their accomplishments were owing, and whether they can depend upon being

being born into another state of being under the same advantageous circumstances as they came into this.

It may then be expedient to cast a thought upon the origin of things, whether Necessity and Chance be substances, active powers, or efficient causes of any thing, or only manners of acting in other substances; whether a perceptive Being can be formed by the composition of unperceptive principles; whether the order of nature and variety of diversly qualified substances we behold, must not be the production of a free and intelligent agent, and what the character of that agent may be conceived to be. Whether there be not rational grounds to conclude the whole universe governed by one general scheme of polity, having a mutual dependence of all its parts upon one another, with a strict impartiality of favour among the perceptive members, preserving an exact equality in the portion of each, computed throughout the whole extent of their existence; from whence follows an intimate connection of interests, every individual having a personal concern in whatever good or evil befals every other: therefore the many were not made for the few, but the few for the many, and what extraordinary abilities are given to some, were not

not given in particular fondness to them, but for the sake of the public, or for all those who may be benefited by them.

By competent reflection upon these topics, it may possibly appear to their satisfaction that the happiness of all for whom they can procure it, is the ultimate point which reason and judgment will recommend to their pursuit, as standing next in order to their own happiness: and it will readily occur that the happiness of the people does not consist solely in the riches and prosperity of the nation, but likewise in good internal polity, decency of manners, propriety of sentiments, variety of engagements, innocence of desires, peace and tranquillity of mind, all which they will be attentive severally to promote by such ways and methods as may offer. They may then contemplate the weakness of human nature in which reason is too feeble to work its purposes without aid of some passion to assist in the execution: therefore it is expedient to cultivate in their breasts a nobleness of sentiment, a love of fame, a desire of eminence, power, and influence among their compatriots, making this the ruling passion to absorb and overwhelm all other desires incident to the human heart, as well knowing that without such powerful incitement they could never have spirit enough

enough to go through all the troubles, the fatigues, the self-denials, the contrivances necessary for the public service.

So they will not take this impulse for the prime director of their conduct, but employ it as a vigorous agent for the better furtherance of those designs they had determined upon before in their calm and sober judgment, as a man uses his horse to carry him further upon his journey than he could possibly have gone with his own legs. But they will not suffer the horse to take the bit between his teeth and run away with them, nor give into measures detrimental to the public for sake of gratifying the beast: for the rider will never drop the reins though sometimes loosening them to give scope to a full career, much less will he use his sagacity to justify the wanton sallies of the horse, or find out by an after-thought, that they have advanced him forward on his journey, but will keep a constant eye beforehand upon the courses he is going to take.

And if they have a principle of reason strong enough to rule the ruling passion, it will find employment in many cases where the servant cannot assist, or even would stand inclined to oppose: they will be careful to encourage no vices, extravagances, nor fashionable follies, to lead insensibly into wholesome

some sentiments by their discourses and example, to watch all occasions of doing a real good, though by ways not contributing to increase their credit or interest, to comply with forms, ceremonies and customs useful for the people, though perhaps not esteemed needful for themselves, to forego opportunities of enlarging their power, to resign it peaceably and contentedly, to bear undeserved treatment, abuses, and slander, whenever the public good shall so require; a harder task than that of turning the right cheek to him that has smote the left, or giving up the cloak also to him that has taken away the coat.

Thus the divine glory pursued by the good of the creatures is capable of furnishing the plan of conduct for all stations of life, and directing the choice in all circumstances that can happen; and measures of every kind would be better laid than upon any other foundation. For nothing can fall within the compass of our activity but there is one course to be taken productive of better advantage than another, be it no more than of a present, momentary pleasure: for this is an accession to happiness when no greater can be made. Not that the grand principle can actuate all our particular motions, for this is both impracticable and improper; but it may give sanction

tion to the rules directing them, generate the aims inviting to them, and license the appetites exciting them. And he that should proceed in all his actions upon aims derived directly, or by the medium of other aims, from that origin, and by the impulse of appetites commissioned thereby, might be truly said to be pursuing his main intention in them all; and whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does, to be doing all for the glory of God, even at times when he has nothing of that object in his thoughts.

There is no occasion to affect a singularity of behaviour, nor seek for uncommon ways of employing our time, in order to live a life of holiness: there needs only to consider the station wherein we are placed as the call of God, to acquit ourselves well in all the parts of it, momentous or trivial, in such manner as that we could not have done better upon the occasion, all circumstances regarded; and to have our desires under such discipline as they may never stir of their own mere motion, but run always in the courses marked out beforehand by considerate judgment, upon the plan of fulfilling our little part in promoting the gracious designs of Providence: for this is that obedience which is better than sacrifice, and is the genuine product of an unmistaken sanctity.

14. But

14. But it will be counted a romantic expectation to think that appetite can ever be made a so compleatly managed horse, as to move in all its paces at the word of command, or that we can have skill enough to trace a reference in our common transactions to the general interest of the creation. This I have acknowledged before, and shall not now recant; therefore I would have no man depend upon achieving it; yet he may propose it for his constant aim, and endeavour upon all occasions to come as near to it as possible, but without being terrified when he misses his mark, or if at any time the air be so darkened that he cannot discern it.

For God and nature first put us under conduct of appetite, from whence discretion and wisdom are afterwards to grow; but we must not expect to see the perfect tree shoot instantaneously from the seed. Therefore appetite is our proper guide whenever we have no better to follow; but experience, instruction, and converse among mankind, quickly discover to us the errors of appetite, and create other desires of health, security, improvement, profit, advancement, or reputation, which supply us with fuller engagement than the natural, because finding a pleasure in prospects before us, and giving a present interest in gratifications yet to come.

But those pursuits proving often delusive, obstructing one another and leading into mischievous consequences, there needs a higher rule to guide them; and this can be had only from contemplation of universal Nature, and the power by which it was established. Thus during the reign of appepetite which gave beginning to our infant actions, we were little different from the brutes; discretion, common prudence, and knowledge in the ways of the world made men of us, and Religion if it were perfect and practical would make us Angels, or as near to Angels as our present condition is capable of being raised. It would still retain enjoyment or happiness for our ultimate end, rating that at a distance as high as if it were near at hand, and allowing that at hand the full value it deserves: it would forbid us no present pleasures that could be had at free cost, and would teach us to feel a present satisfaction in prospects of the most remote. Therefore would restrain either the natural or acquired appetites in nothing that can add to the sum of our enjoyments; it would only withhold them from running into mischiefs they do not foresee, and turn them into courses that would yield profit as well as gratification; making our whole lives a continued scene of satisfaction either in the present

sent fruition of innocent pleasures, or the joyful reflection of being at work in the acquisition of future.

For whoever has a hearty desire of doing always what he discerns to be right, will seldom fail of having that desire gratified: and a state of continual gratification in a predominant desire every body will allow to be a state of enjoyment. But the uneasinesses we feel, spring either from the want of a quick discernment and strong persuasion that the measures we take will conduce to our principal end, or from the desire being too weak to overpower any pain or trouble that lies in the way.

Now if we think this discernment and strength of desire too hard a task for us ever to attain compleatly, as indeed I think so too, yet when making due reflection upon the value of them if they could be attained, we shall wish to approach as near to them as possible: and without vexing ourselves at what we cannot do, shall watch for every opportunity of making a little advance towards them, as being an advantage gained, with as much attention as a miser does to the profit of every shilling he can get in a bargain. For those are seldom the most thriving people, who drive at none but vast projects, and will needs grow rich at once: nor is he likely to

make the best proficiency in holiness, who expects to become a saint by one eager resolution, to practise uncommon virtues, and never do a wrong thing again. But treasures in Heaven as well as upon earth are raised by continually accumulating to the stock in hand, and more is to be done by vigilance and industry, than by strength and impetuosity,

15. By due performance of our religious services with a view to that effect for which alone they are profitable, the improving our dispositions and sentiments of mind, every exercise will add something to their vigour, and help to render them more habitual: so that after paying our devotions rightly at any time, we may depend upon having made a profit, which will manifest itself in our subsequent conduct: the next thought will be how to exemplify our sentiments by our practice.

And here we shall certainly find an insurmountable difficulty in laying out all parts of our conduct upon this plan, and discovering a reference in every employment we must unavoidably engage in to our principal intention; but this need not trouble us, for this world is a school wherein we must not expect to be masters in the science we were sent hither to learn. Yet we may continually

make

make some proficiency therein, observing references where we had not discerned them before, finding uses in things we had esteemed unavailing, deducing new rules from our more general suited to the variety of circumstances that may befal, correcting them from time to time and learning better and better how to turn particular opportunities to the best account, either for promoting some solid good or innocent pleasure, or for escaping the mischiefs and inconveniences that might ensue from the neglect of them.

For experience and diligence will do great matters by imperceptible workings: we know the frugal proverb, a pin a day is a groat a year, and if we make ever so little advance every day in our progress, it is scarce to be credited what lengths we may arrive at by the year's end, so as to feel the truth of that promise, To him that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance: and all this without toil or terror, but only by a hearty willingness to the work, and a strong persuasion that every stroke struck in it will be a real profit gained.

And we may profit not only by the habit of marking out the track we are to go, but likewise by casting a retrospect at convenient seasons upon those we have gone, examining how

how things have succeeded, wherein we might have managed better, every now and then tracing our references to their fountain-head, and rejoicing in any good trains we have fallen into accidentally, because this will make them our operating motive another time, when the like opportunity returns again. Our ultimate point cannot be held always in view, for there is a time for heavenly thoughts and a time for worldly cares, a time to work and a time to play, a time to be serious and a time to be merry; but it will cast an abstract idea of rectitude upon whatever moral senses, appetites, prudential rules, common aims, regards to necessity or propriety were regularly deduced from it, or allowed upon their apparent reference traced to it: so that after having gotten a competent stock of them, we shall proceed for the most part with a consciousness of doing right, which will prove a present reward for our diligence, and an encouragement to persevere in it: and in our serious moods may serve as a topic of joyful thanksgiving for the progress we have been enabled to go, and the little share wherein we have been made instrumental together with others of our fellow-creatures, towards carrying on any work of God, whether in the advancement of Religion, some public benefit, education of our children, services of our friends,

or

or by some small addition to the conveniences or chearfulness of life. Which topic may be frequently resumed with good emolument, as helping considerably to strengthen the three fundamental virtues in our hearts; provided care be taken to keep clear of the pharisaical comparison with other persons supposed less profitable servants. For it is the property of sound piety to joy in good works for the profit, not for the credit of them, and take a sensible relish in the smallest, when satisfied they were the best that could have been done under the circumstances attending them.

When pains and afflictions, toils and troubles fall upon us, we shall often suffer by them and often be thrown off the hinges, for we were born in weakness, and bred up in fears and delicacy, but if we cannot master the strong, we shall continually make fresh conquests upon the smaller, and continually gather some accession of strength to contend with the mightiest; but every victory and every brave struggle, even though unsuccessful, will be esteemed an advantage and a pleasure. Appetite and habit will still prompt to action upon their own impulse, without staying to take direction from the rules of judgment, sometimes will carry us forcibly in opposition thereto, or sometimes warp us insensibly

insensibly out of the line, and we shall often lose sight of our reference, so as to discern no rule drawn from thence applicable to the present occasion. But when the rider does not see the way himself, he cannot do better than let the horse find his own track, and if the beast be serviceable, will be content to take the good qualities with the bad, nor wish to part with him, or have him lose all his mettle because of some unlucky tricks; for how often soever he be run away with, he will never quit hold of the reins, but try to gather them up when he can, and bring him off his tricks by degrees.

If the governing principle be well rooted it will never lie asleep though sometimes inactive, and sometimes overpowered; and if it cannot always direct or give the spring to action, yet like the demon of Socrates, it will always stand ready to check when things are going amiss, so that conscience shall ever be vigilant to take alarm: but the pricks of conscience will not so much afflict and torment us, as stimulate our resolution and excite our diligence, and their repeated pungency will produce effects that could not have been worked by strength.

The same principle likewise may keep us attentive to the ways of Providence in the administration of the moral world, the springs

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of action working among mankind, the courses of events, the uses and tendencies of things moving around us, from whence to gather wholesome directions for the better management of our own conduct; to find matter of joy and thankfulness in blessings falling out of our reach and in works performed by others wherein we had no hand.

For the general connection of interests having gained our full persuasion, will give us a concern in all the good and evil we behold elsewhere, as also in whatever conduces to increase the one, or diminish the other: therefore we shall not wish to ingross sanctity and wisdom to ourselves, those two copious sources of general good, nor be forward to depreciate our fellow-labourers, being sensible that the larger their abilities and better their dispositions are, the quicker that great work, redounding to the common benefit of all, the perfecting of the human species, will go on. This must make us candid to others, ready to interpret, to judge, and to augurate for the best with that partiality which naturally inclines us to believe what we wish; not prone to revenge, nor envy, nor personal resentment; never doing hurt nor displeasure but reluctantly, upon the necessity of securing some greater good that must otherwise be lost, and pleased with any real benefit,

nefit, though worked undesignedly by persons acting under the impulse of appetite or upon private views.

16. This pleasure together with the observation of what great benefits to mankind are so worked by those undiscerning springs of action, might instruct us how to shape our dealings with the world; for those who go about to reform mankind are commonly too romantic in their schemes, and the methods of pursuing them. The Philosopher would have all men constantly follow their reason, and then they would want nothing else to make them compleatly happy; whether this be true or no I cannot certainly tell, but undoubtedly if they would follow their reason, things would go on infinitely better than they do: but the great difficulty lies in bringing them to walk steadily under that guidance, and to this purpose I conceive Religion and religious services rightly applied, together with the rules of conduct deriving a sanction from their reference thereto, are supremely conducive. The pious man wants to make every body a Saint, until finding the generality unwilling to be tutored by him, he gives them over for wicked creatures, reprobates upon whom nothing is to be done: so he wraps himself up in his own integrity, conversing solely with his God, as being incapable

capable of doing service to his fellow-creatures. If he could make them real and rational Saints, I have no objection, and should be overjoyed to lend him a helping hand? but what if he cannot? is there nothing else to be done for them in the labour of love? He is commanded to do good to enemies and persecutors, whom we may presume wicked men, scarce capable of being improved by him in sanctity: therefore, there must be some other benefit to be done them, for God would not command a duty that is impossible.

Religion and the governing principle above mentioned lead us to do all the good we can, not that we cannot do, because we think it better: but how know we what is best? and ought we not to esteem that best whereto we are called by Nature and Providence having put it into our power? The necessaries and conveniences, the imbellishments and enjoyments of life are good and valuable in themselves, nor ever become unholy unless when the abuse of them draws on greater mischiefs, which over-balance their benefit: therefore whatever contributes to the supply of them deserves our attention and encouragement, which to apply upon all seasonable opportunities is a part of the work whereto we are called.

But those things must be procured by the labour

labour of multitudes acting in various ways, few of which they could ever be brought into by the principles of Religion. For how will you raise a sense of the general interest in the ignorant ploughman, lively enough to carry him through the fatigues of his daily work? Yet without his industry you cannot have your daily bread. How will you inspire the unfeeling seaman with a public spirit, sufficient to make him endure all hardships, to brave the dangers of every element? Yet without his aid you cannot live securely at home, or enjoy the tranquillity needful for your meditations to the improvement of your own or your neighbour's sanctity.

Religion with the generality of mankind where there is some sense of it, operates but as a bridle not as a spur, exciting no desire of any kind but at most restraining those arising from other sources; it is submitted to as a burden necessary for avoiding the stripes threatened to disobedience: so they serve God as the Indians do the devil, that he may not hurt them, and their solicitude is to escape hell rather than to gain Heaven, nor would they ever think of the latter if there were a third place whither they might go to to be secure from the former. The springs actuating their movements and aims inviting their puriuit are sustenance, or fortune, or power,

power, or greatness, or reputation, or amusement, or some favourite scheme they have been made fond of by natural appetite, by education, custom, or accident touching their fancy. Therefore by observation upon the characters and abilities of men, means may often be found of turning their desires to some advantage of their own, or of one another: our business then is to join with what little aid we can bring to any thing going forward for improvement of good manners, good polity, peace, tranquillity of mind, convenience or enjoyment of life; for all we do of this kind comes properly within our day's work, so that if entered upon in that light, we shall be serving God, whatever idols our fellow-labourers in the same work are serving. Nor yet is it impossible they may be serving him unknowingly, and themselves too, in the most essential point: for neither Religion nor Philosophy could go the lengths they have done, without the aids and materials furnished them by the labourer, the mechanic, the manufacturer, the merchant, the naturalist, the mathematician, the astronomer, and the statesman.

17. We speculative people are apt to persuade ourselves, it would be a happy world if all men were good, and I must own myself still in that persuasion, provided you allow

allow us our own definition of good men; that is, such in whom reason is so absolute, and the spirit of rectitude so strong, as to overpower all indolence, appetite, terror, and pain, with the same ease as a violent fit of revenge, or love, or jealousy, or ambition, or covetousness can do; which will enable men to bear any toils or hurts in the prosecution of their purpose, without feeling them. But if we must be fetched down from our visionary ideas, and confined to such good men as can be found upon the earth, I much question whether matters would be mended if all others could be brought to resemble them.

Prudence, that first cardinal virtue, foundation of all the rest, discovers approaching evils too clearly, and destroys that insensibility of danger necessary for many important services: good management, contentedness, and aversion to waste, keep off those necessities which drive the world to industry. The shoe-maker earns enough in four days to maintain him the whole week, so he never will do a stitch of work before Wednesday morning. The common sailor will not return on board, while he has a farthing of the wages received remaining in his pocket: it is riot and debauchery reduce him to that indigence which makes him a useful member of the community.

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I do not produce these as examples of good men, but I fear the best of human goodness has so much of human infirmity mingled among it, as to render it utterly incapable of many necessary services which the business of the world cannot go on well without. How would you man your fleets, or recruit your armies, all out of good men? they might feel great reluctance against exercising the trade of a butcher, or an ale-house keeper, or brewing poisonous liquors in a wine cooper's vaults, nor perhaps might it be possible to find the two necessary ministers of justice, a bum bailiff, and a Jack Ketch among them.

For Providence has so ordered the courses of sublunary affairs, that wickedness, impulse, and folly are made instrumental to wise and gracious purposes, and one vice is employed to correct the poisonous qualities, and prevent the mischievous effects of another, so that none can be spared unless all are cured, which we must not expect to see done before the coming of the kingdom of the just, wherein, to speak in Scripture language, we hope to be born again and become new creatures. But it becomes not us to intermeddle in that mysterious method of bringing forth good by means of evil, for this is the sacred prerogative

tive of Heaven, reserved among the arcana imperii, the secrets of government: we are to follow the dictates of Religion and reason, those guides which God has given us for our perpetual direction; whatever they declare productive of nothing but mischief, we are to avoid, to discourage vice wherever we find it, nor ever to do or permit evil that good may come of it, for none but the all-seeing eye can certainly know when good will come of it.

Nevertheless, we may and ought to assist in every work carrying on for the benefit of mankind, though not undertaken with that purity of intention we could wish, and contribute so far as in our little power lies to encourage those customs, aims, and desires which the world in any respect is better with, than without: for in so doing and entering upon it with that view, we follow the rule of reason, which is the greater feasible good, and do the Will of God.

For when we survey the state of mankind cast upon them by the dispensations of Providence, we shall hardly believe it intended that all men should be actuated in the general tenor of their conduct by religious principles. Multitudes are born in countries of utter darkness, error and superstition: many bred up in wickedness and ignorance,

without

without any discernment of the light shining around them: some want capacities to extend a thought beyond sensible objects: some are immersed unavoidably by the prevalence of custom and example in vain projects and worldly cares: many by the necessity of their situation, forced to attend solely to gaining their livelihood: few however rightly disposed are able to trace the rules for their ordinary transactions to the proper source, so are obliged to act under other impulses for want of better direction: yet all these people are made instrumental in carrying on the business of the world, by means of the several impulses actuating their motions.

But the ways of Providence are all gracious, and wise, and holy; the courses of nature in any part of the universe established with a reference to the good of the whole: therefore we may depend that the transactions of the world answer some higher purpose than we are aware of; and since God has so placed the greater part of mankind, that without their own fault, but by the necessity of their situation, they can have only transient, imperfect notions of him, we may conclude there is a work of Providence which may go on without religious sentiments. So that while concurring in measures taken upon impulse, common aims and de-

sires, so far as we perceive them conducive to some temporal good or enjoyment of life, we are still moving in our proper sphere, as citizens of the universe, inheritors of heaven, though religion have no share in those intercourses, unless as our own private motive for joining therein.

18. Let us recollect further, that this life is a preparation for the next, and though it is to be feared that some unhappy wretches make preparation for a miserable life in the next long immeasurable stage of their journey through matter, this is done solely by their own wilful misconduct: therefore, in all the courses men follow, where it was impossible or impracticable for them to have taken better for want of clearer knowledge than was afforded, we may confide in the goodness and wisdom of God, for having led them into such as will prepare them for the attainment of some future benefit, besides that they reap therefrom in this world.

A boy is put apprentice to a carpenter, he is bid to be diligent in his service, because it will enable him to get a comfortable livelihood, and secure the approbation of his friends: he does so, and afterwards plies industriously to his trade upon those sole motives: perhaps, he might have got to be clerk of the parish, and spent his time in singing

psalms,

psalms, but he never was taught to think seriously of God or religion at all, how then should it come into his head that calling a psalm was more holy employment than sawing a board, or how was it practicable for him to have followed a better course, or upon better views, than he has done?

A religious man may visit about among his neighbours, because the rules of civility require it, though discerning no reference they bear to the great work of his salvation: but you say there is a reference, and he might trace it if he would; perhaps, he might, had he so piercing a sight as yours, but if he has not, how is it practicable for him to see as distinctly with weaker optics? or why should he forbear his civilities when he likewise perceives no reference in the omission?

Since then there is a right and a wrong in every choice of action, and the right lies in following the best light that appears at the time, since right actions of all kinds do not always redound to the temporal interest of the performer, and since Providence, by which our lights are dispensed, orders nothing in vain; it may safely be inferred that the transactions and occupations of this world proceeding from common impulses, aims, and desires, not derived from holiness, provided there be no check of conscience warning of

a contrariety thereto, bear a share in the preparation for the next. It is not necessary that we should know precisely in what manner they operate, but our persuasion of a universal Providence laying out every stroke in the all-comprehensive plan, so as to introduce and make way for the next in succession, may give us a general idea of their being profitable.

Nevertheless, this idea will become a little less general when we reflect upon what has been urged in the Chapter upon divine Economy, that Religion and Philosophy alone cannot compleat the great work of God, the perfecting human nature, without aid of human sciences, arts, policy, industry, commerce, and the daily intercourses among mankind: from whence may be gathered, that we all have our several parts allotted us in one or other of the three branches, and every branch has its number of hands assigned to carry it on: so that though it be necessary there should be some Christians, and some Philosophers, in all degrees of proficiency, yet it is not necessary that all mankind should be such; as we may presume it necessary from experience of fact, that some should pass through many years of life, but not so that others should ever get out of their cradle.

For

For there is a general interest connecting the whole species together, and as the power of the mighty, the sagacity of the prudent, and knowledge of the learned were given them for the benefit of the public, so the graces of the righteous were not shed upon them for their own sakes, but for advancing the progress of sound Religion in the world, and they receive assistance again from the men of business and worldly pursuits. Thus whoso performs his part well, wherever allotted him, according to the lights vouchsafed, does all wanted from him towards securing the great common interest whereof himself shall be one day partaker: whether he performs little there is no lack, and whether he performs much there is nothing over.

19. Nor shall we want a gleam of light to illustrate how the just performance of an inferior part may qualify men to act in a higher, when we cast back an eye upon the introduction of religious sentiments and good practical habits into ourselves: for they were born with none of us, nor infused immediately by the water of Baptism. We were sent hither under the sole direction of sense and appetite, affected by pleasures or pains of the present moment, without knowledge of God, without thought of the morrow, without idea of right and wrong. When memory

memory began to lay in her stores, their frictions among one another struck out the first sparkles of judgment and forecast, which gave us a concern for the next succeeding hours: we could then rejoice in the promise of a plaything to be bought in the afternoon, and dread the thoughts of mamma being told to-morrow, that we had done a naughty trick. In this manner we were furnished with affections and desires whose gratification afforded a present pleasure, though springing from objects at some distance.

As observation encreased, aided by instruction and sympathy, desire extended a little further and further in its views, so that we could desire and be pleased with the expectation of pleasures to come a week or a month after: custom gradually strengthened those aims, and enlarged them to take in a series and variety of pleasures as one object. We pretty soon found or were taught, that materials were necessary to be provided, and previous measures to be taken for the attainment of our remote desires: then reason began to open, and we gathered by little pickings the ideas of good and mischievous, of right and wrong.

For good, says, Mr. Locke, is that which produces pleasure, and we may define right to be that line of conduct which leads most effectually

effectually to the procurement of good or pleasure; thus money is good because it purchases the things that will please us; caution in contracts is right because it helps us to get money or to save it; civility and good humour is right because they enhance the pleasures of conversation. But affection which, as I said above, affords a present pleasures in the movement towards gratification, often fixes wholly upon that, and then becomes a passion or direct appetite caring only for the present moment, or if it does pretend to look beyond, yet when violent it always absorbs the idea of right in that of gratification. A man in a high fit of resentment is assured those revenges are right, which he will abhor in his cooler hours: a young fellow strongly smitten with a pretty face, is positive beyond all power of conviction that the owner of it is a Pamela, possessed of all valuable accomplishes: and every passion or appetite in proportion to the vigour of its impulse, strives to resist and pervert the recommendations of judgment.

It cannot be long before we perceive this quality of appetite and passion to defeat us of the benefits our judgment might have conducted into: from whence we learn the value of prudence, or the estimation of remote enjoyment equally with that near at hand, which is the foundation and root of all the

the virtues, as well moral as theological; for in him that has no feeling for the future, his fortitude can be nothing but insensibility, his temperance tastelessness, and his justice a compliance with the fashion; he can have neither hope nor charity and his faith can be no more than unmoving speculation.

Therefore in proportion as we grow in prudence, and as judgment gathers strength to pursue an advantage at some distance against the opposition of appetite, we advance a step forward towards the perfection of our nature. But the first prospects of judgment are scanty, and the objects of its pursuit but little remote; when afterwards we take up manly views, they reach no further than to the pleasurable enjoyment of youth in such course of life, as we have been led to admire by tuition, or sympathy, or some shining appearance striking our fancy; for young people seldom think of what shall happen to them when they grow old, as too remote for their discernment, nor feel the least reluctance against giving into practices that manifestly endanger the shortening of their span. Even Religion in such as are taught it early, would have no force unless backed by near motives; they are told of the blessings of God upon the righteous in this world, that he will prosper them

them in all their ways, and his judgments perpetually hang over the reprobate: they are reminded of the precariousness of life, how many young people are daily snatched off on a sudden, and they themselves may be taken away this very night: for if they were persuaded of forty years certain before them, and in all that time things should go on in the same manner whether they were good or wicked, I question whether any impression could be made that would sink into their judgment. It is not without long time and discipline, and practice, and by gradual progress, that we ever come to look upon a happy eternity as an object of real desire, abstracted from being an escape from its contrary, or to have any imagination how there can be happiness without senses and sensual enjoyments, or how our future condition can be affected by our present behaviour.

Thus the highest prudence springs out of that which had enabled us steadily to pursue our inferior aims against every bias drawing us aside: therefore those persons commonly make the largest proficiency in Religion, who could earliest be brought to consideration, and forecast in the little matters then within their sphere, and were most docible to instruction, or observant of the measures taken by their elders; whereas such as have strong

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passions and get a habit of eagerness in following every present impulse, seldom make any proficiency at all; if they have quick parts they arrive at a great deal of cunning, but rarely any prudence, even in worldly affairs. For it is a valuable point gained to be able to do what appears to be right, however imperfect or delusive that appearance may be: it is still taking the guidance of our judgment though uninformed or misinformed, which will habituate and prepare us for following it more readily at other times, when it shall have received better information.

We have found reason in former Chapters to conclude, that the mind always acts by the instrumentality of some material organ, either of the finer or grosser part of our machine, and her powers are greater or less according to the strength, and condition of the instruments she has to work with. Now it seems not unlikely, that organ which the mind uses in exerting a resolution to follow the dictates of judgment preferably to present impulse, may be the grand muscle of our spiritual body, wherein its main strength lies; and as this improves in tone and order, that body acquires a vitality of its own, being able to perform its functions without aid of the grosser, from whose mechanical circulations the impulses of appe-

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tite and passion, or vehemencies of desire seem to be thrown in.

Therefore every exercise, even of a mistaken rectitude, helping to strengthen this principal muscle, contributes towards perfecting the spiritual body within us, that it may rise again to new life with better health and powers, for attaining that perfect endurance and forbearance which is our compleat Redemption, and total deliverance from original sin. For though we should carry none of our knowledge, our habits, nor our ideas with us, but the foundations we shall then have to build our judgment upon should be totally different from the present, yet it is of the utmost importance to have our organs vigorous and pliant, capable of executing such services as judgment shall put them upon: as it was of importance what texture of brain, what proportion of limbs, and suppleness of joints we were born with into this present world; for our knowledge and acquisitions depend in great measure thereupon, though we brought in no stock of them along with us.

20. Hence it appears, that preparation is made in this life for better enjoyment of the next by the practice of morality, and worldly prudence; I do not pretend it is so large as that made by the courses of sound Religion, but

but if it be of any real benefit it is well worth our attention to assist in promoting it upon every opportunity that falls in the way, for it is a part of our great work, derived directly from the grand intention of glorifying God, by contributing to the good of his creatures in their most important concern.

We have found reasons in the Chapter on Redemption to show, that no man fully runs his course or reaches the goal of salvation in this life, but something further remains to be done in the next; and that God in his dispensations of Providence has marked out different lengths here to different persons. Upon which ground we may presume, that such dominion of reason and mastery over the passions as every man is capable of attaining, according to the circumstances wherein he is placed, is all that is needful for him to atchieve, as being the narrow way and the straight gate by which he may enter into life, though we could not, because having another path assigned us to run in.

But it behoves us to be studious and diligent in assisting our fellow-travellers proceeding in different tracks, upon all occasions where we can; for in so doing we exercise our obedience and our charity. For which purpose it will be necessary to mingle among them, to observe the several aims and ideas

ideas of rectitude prevailing with them, and if we do not find them exactly tallying with our own, yet examining which verges nearest thereto, and will add something to the authority of reason over mechanical impulse; attentive to what is practicable in every case; and careful to drive the nail that will go, for a small service is preferable to none at all.

It is better a man should work industriously in his calling only to raise a competence thereby, than that he should live idle and utterly useless: it is better he should be temperate for his health's sake, than have no check upon his excesses: it is better he should be kept in decency by the fear of censure, than that he should run riot in all kind of licentiousness and wantoness; in all these cases there is some extension of the view beyond present gratification, and some conquest gained over the impetuosity of appetite. And since reason is too feeble in the generality of mankind, ever to do much without taking assistance from the appetites to quell one another, but we must practise the politicians' maxim, Divide and command; it will be expedient to learn which of them are best capable of that service, and to encourage such desires, inclinations, pursuits, customs, modes, and attachments as help to keep under the more riotous, because without

out them it is to be feared the world would rust in idleness, or wallow in the grossest sensuality. For those less mischievous impulses help in some degree to strengthen the rational faculty, and make preparation for larger advances whenever an opening shall be given for carrying them on.

Thus we see there are ways wherein we may pursue our grand intention in the most essential part, that of advancing men a step forwards in their progress to a happy futurity, by means wherein religion and religious sentiments bear no part.

21. But are we not to labour in the cultivation of that principle and those sentiments among men? certainly, with all our might and diligence: for it is the first object of a devout intention to bring all others to act with the same, whenever we can. Nor is this at all contradicted by the foregoing exhortations to assist in the growth of morality, and common prudence: for our attention to short aims and partial services for want of better being practicable, will never abate our vigilance to pursue the ultimate, as often as we can find an avenue leading thereto. A thorough industry catches at every small profit, yet will not be content with common gains if an opportunity occurs of making greater.

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But when going to communicate our own spirit to another, it behoves us to take care that it be genuine and well rectified, for we cannot infuse a purer than we have ourselves, but we may infuse it not so pure as we have ourselves: therefore caution must be used that what we impart be of the right sort, and do not corrupt in the passage. If there be any thing of terror, or servility, or anxious solicitude, or vanity, or ill nature, or narrow selfishness, or other passion intermingled, it is ropy and imperfect. For there are religious passions as well as sensual, and both are alike natural enemies to judgment, yet both must be employed to assist in weakening a worse enemy: They first afford room for judgment to exert a vigour, by joining in with them against the common adversary, who being drove out of the field they ought then to be discarded, or else they will become our masters unless some other passion can be called in to aid in keeping them under.

It is the want of this caution that draws people to be righteous over much, not observing that a zeal of devotion which was once a necessary servant of righteousness, may become a formidable enemy: but this world is a school wherein we are always to learn, nor ever think ourselves perfect masters in

in our science of rectitude, or be too sure that our rules of it are infallible, it is a perpetual warfare wherein we must keep a vigilant eye as well upon friends, as upon declared enemies. According to the capacities of men or the situation whereto they are respectively arrived in their progress, that may be holiness in one which would be superstition in another, and the same point a step forwards to one which would be a step backwards to another. Therefore it will behove us to proceed with discretion, observing diligently the several bearings of our ultimate aim, and the lines pointing to it from every quarter, that so we may discern what movement will make the nearest practicable approach from the spot where each man stands, and in the circumstances of his situation.

Nor is discretion more needful in fixing upon the particular point we would conduct to, than in the manner of conducting: men never were so well drove as led, and in these countries, God be thanked, they will not drive at all. I look upon it as a blessing, because if you could drive them they would follow the letter of your directions; to lead they must understand the spirit, or they will not budge an inch after you. But the apprehensions of men are so various, that by speaking a truth one may chance to convey

the idea of an arrant falsehood, and recommend a maxim perfectly salutary to oneself, which might be poisonous to be followed by another.

Yet if the truth were ever so clear or the maxim unexceptionable, still if there be any thing distasteful accompanying the delivery, it will not be received: for there is a stoutness, and an aversion to inferiority rooted in all men, which must be managed with great delicacy. All parade of extraordinary righteousness, austerity, stiffness, tutorage, expression of contempt or pity for the ungodly, or even looks of censure where it is not expressed by words, which very good people are sometimes too prone to indulge in, will certainly set them against you. They take these things for insults upon their understanding, or attempts upon their liberty, so will go in direct contradiction to what you would have, merely to show they do not value you, but will assert their rights.

Therefore the prime caution to be observed by him that would work upon another, is to beware of his own vanity, remembering that other folks have theirs too; which is extremely quick of sensibility, and must be tenderly handled; for nothing is so detestable to the vain, as his own picture in another's countenance or carriage.

The safest way of dealing with this touchy part in human nature, is to watch opportunities for insinuating what is profitable imperceptibly, when men are disposed to receive it; to manage if possible like Socrates, bringing them to find out themselves what you want to inform them of, and desire of their own accord what you wish them to pursue; to carry no appearance of wisdom, or sanctity, or eagerness, upon your brow, but seeming to act unconcernedly, even when you have the most important designs in your heart; to study that ease spoken of in § 13, of CHAP. XXI. which is the product of expertness; and to depend more upon example than document, arguing not as a disputant who means to confute his adversary, but as one deliberating upon a concern of his own, and striving to make your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven.

But then this shine must not be a glare of admiration, which might shock their vanity and endanger the nourishing your own, but a display of real advantage and unaffected enjoyment: for this is the most effectual method of bringing them to glorify God heartily, if they can be made sensible by ocular demonstration, that his ways are ways

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of pleasantness, and all his paths are peace. Which demonstration is not to be exhibited by laboured encomiums upon the happiness of a pious life, or exclamations upon the joyful transports of religious exercises, which are often so counterfeit as to deceive those who make them, for the world will see through the veil, and discern that you are not really so delighted as you persuade yourself: but this light will shine with brightest lustre, when it flows naturally from the state of the mind beaming by undesigned emanation through the countenance and deportment; when while following your own pursuits, thinking nothing of the gazers around, they can yet discern a chearful serenity within, a contentedness, a continual satisfactory engagement, a plenty of attainable desires, an unruffled patience, an exemption from wants or cravings from turbulent and tormenting passions.

Thus you see it is for the good of your neighbour, as well as for your own solace, to make your Religion as pleasurable a work as possible; which it can never be, unless accommodated to the common occurrences of life. I know no better way to do this, than by the solid conviction and intimate persuasion hereinbefore recommended, which may bring us to consider it, not as an obli-

gation, nor command, nor a deliverance from dreadful miseries, nor yet a ladder to high reputation and self-applause, but as a profitable scheme; and make us seek a profit from it upon every occasion that can happen.

I have before acknowledged it a vain imagination to think we can ever thus compleatly adjust it to all cases and situations in this vale of darkness and imbecility; yet I conceive a common man may succeed so far, as, if not to become a warming light to others, at least to feel by his own experience, that what little progress he can make is well worth the trouble of pursuing it.

22. For my own part I pretend to have run no great lengths of proficiency, nor been able to lay out my measures upon my own plan: if I have now and then hit upon something plausible in the course of these Chapters, little is to be inferred from thence, for it is not uncommon for men to talk better than they can act, and enforce a sentiment upon others which they cannot raise in themselves. I every day experience the truth of what I have laid down, that conviction is not the same as persuasion; for many things appearing with the clearest evidence to my understanding, are very hardly brought to possess my imagination. I act often upon impulse, sometimes for want of a better guidance,

ance, at others because unable to resist it. I am sometimes thrown into doubt by contrary appearances, sometimes left in darkness for want of any light; unable to trace my references or discern what relation my common employments bear to the grand concern: so am forced to take direction from custom, or example, or other people's opinions, or from some of the internal senses, or inclination, or fancy, and when I can discover my road often find it too arduous or too obstructed for me to travel.

Nevertheless, what pittance of proficiency I have made, has turned wholly to my benefit, and in no respect that I can perceive lessened the enjoyment of life: if it has debarred me from some gratifications of fond desire and appetite, they were such as I must have paid dearly for in the consequences; if it has drove me upon some toils and troubles, they were made easy by the satisfaction in the performance, and rewarded by the subsequent advantages they earned.

I have made shift to trace the reference in some of my common employments to the great design, and thereby turned trifles into matters of moment: have deduced some of my ordinary rules of behaviour from their original source, which gives a solid complacence in the practice of them. When surprised

prised or overpowered by impulse, I esteem it a damage sustained; when having the good luck to resist it, I regard that as a profit made; my ill successes in this struggle are frequent enough, yet they do not drive me into despondency, as well knowing that the strength to will is given us as well as the power to do, and it suits with my fundamental principle to rest contented with the portion both of spiritual and worldly estate that God has bestowed on me, for what pretence have I to superior graces above my fellows? Yet this content does not abate my readiness to make improvements whenever a fair opportunity offers, by which attention to improve all advantages occurring, I think my conduct is become a little more uniform and significant than heretofore, and engaging employment found for some hours which otherwise might have passed unavailing or irksome. When dangers, pains, troubles, and disappointments, though not very severe nor grievous, fall upon me, I still suffer by them, for the machine is too strong for the manager, yet less and less as my principle gathers vigor; which as soon as it can find room to enter, takes off their pressure and entirely dissipates the remains of them that would hang upon the mind.

If I pretend to stand exempt from vanity, it

it would be a prevarication, for I often perceive its attacks, and doubt not it has an influence in many instances where I do not perceive it; but my idea of intrinsic equality and the general interest is the most averse to its motions, giving me when lively a concern and sympathy in the successes of others, inclining me to think the best of every one as a fellow labourer, made instrumental, whether he knows it or no, in the same common service, the perfecting of the species: so that I can sometimes find justifications and excuses for persons with whom I contest, regard vices and follies as an unhappy distemper of the mind, consider the patient as a congenial Psyche incommodiously lodged, a wandering star in the lowest parts of its orbit, and envy no advantage or pleasures that I do not apprehend terminating in mischief. If I fall deficient in the common business of life or social offices, this must be imputed to my natural and contracted infirmities, for my principle urges me to continual unhurrying activity in pursuit of some end, in performing any little good office, or obliging compliance or entertainment when nothing more important is at hand.

As my dependence rests solely upon the largeness of the divine bounty, I can sometimes when that idea fills my thoughts, survey

vey the provisions, the gratifications, the pastimes, the joys, the comforts poured around with unsparing hand upon man, and beast, and bird, and fish, and insect, with more delight than the finest landscape I ever beheld; nor is the pleasure unfrequently doubled by the reflection of having such a taste, which I value at a higher rate than that of architecture, painting, or music, not as a more brilliant accomplishment, but as a more beneficial possession.

For the greater fund of happiness I can find in the world, the fuller manifestation I have of the divine goodness, and the better grounds of expectation for myself, as having no warrant to look for more than my proportionable share of the blessings redundant from that source. While I can hold this prospect in view, the evils scattered among it lessen by comparison: for how many more houses of commodious habitation, of business, of entertainment, of jollity are there, than gaols and hospitals? how many more doors rattling with peals of visiting thunder, than knockers tied up? how many more provisions are bought in the markets and wares in the shops, than drugs dispensed by the apothecary? how many more hours have we of engagement, of promising pursuit, of tranquillity, content, diversion, and merriment,

riment, than of sickness, pain, or melancholy?

If there be any exception to the indulgence of these ideas, it is that they make me too partial to that hypothesis which seems to glorify God in the highest conceivable degree, by raising the proportion of good to evil throughout the universe, and consequently throughout the period of every creature's existence, so high as millions of millions of millions to one: which whether it be true or no, yet if firmly believed might render us insensible to the troubles of life by the joy that is set before us, and lighten all the labours by representing them as necessary to secure the enjoyment of such an immense estate.

When the seasons of grace are upon me, which I reckon those wherein the main principle is immediately operating either in devotion, or contemplation, or study, or the practice of something apprehended a good work, though much versed in the microscope, I could never yet discover any supernatural impulse in those experiences, nor feel the finger of God nor hear his whispers; yet I see him clearly through the telescope fitted up with the object glass of reason, and the eye glass of faith, one to converge the rays collected by

by the other, but at an immense distance both of time and place, working in the birth of nature, providing with unerring certainty those causes which by a million of complicated and intricate windings have produced the effect I now feel.

Upon all these occasions there is a calm joy, a complacence, a satisfaction at least equal to that of any successful pursuits, pleasing reflections, or noblest aims of other kinds that I have had experience of, flowing spontaneously without any force upon the imagination to throw them up, and when so coming they are most genuine and most striking.

For our fondness of intense pleasures leads into gross mistakes, when we think to stretch appetite beyond its natural tone; neither the pleasures of Religion nor of sense will be increased by being forced, he that takes pains to believe himself vastly delighted, is in reality scarce delighted at all; he is only fond of the credit of it in his own fancy; but true joy will operate by its native vigour without wanting our aid to give it motion. It is our business to ply diligently to our work, to use the means of grace, and follow those courses that are productive of satisfaction, and then we need not fear having

ing enough of it by such reflections as will naturally spring therefrom, without our further seeking.

23. But why do I dwell upon the little benefits accruing from this principle in an imperfect creature but feebly possessed with it, and not carry on the thoughts to that full unceasing satisfaction, which must flow from it when vigorous, perfect, and general? If men of sagacity would examine the grounds of it impartially, so as to render the evidence clear and familiar to their thoughts beyond all danger of subsequent doubt or mistrust, and then reduce it to practical rules so as to have a reason for pursuing all their other sciences, arts, schemes, employments, and manners of behaviour deducible therefrom; their authority and example would soon draw the rest of the world after them, as their skill in communicating ideas might render the methods of following them, according to different situations and circumstances, intelligible to every one.

For we see by experience of the ruling passions, that a distant aim impressed strongly upon the imagination is capable of employing men for years, and shaping all other desires to a conformity therewith. And as all men have some value for their judgment, choosing rather to follow it than not, when there

there lies no impediment in the way, the general idea of right might always influence them, but that the current rules of rectitude are not adapted to their particular circumstances, urging them frequently to impracticable performances, and a resistance of appetite they are not able to make, which gives them a distaste to rectitude itself, as being a romantic or troublesome thing; whereas were it clearly discerned what is the nearest feasible advance thereto, and guidance of appetite within their forces to practise in each succeeding moment, they might come into a liking of it, and continually improve their strength.

The transition from rectitude to the grand intention is very short, for every right action is a doing the Will of God, and every man feels a satisfaction in the consciousness of having done right, when he happens to find ground for it, which makes men so ready to deceive themselves in the motives of their proceedings, because by this means they get a false bottom just sufficient to support a present consciousness together with the satisfaction accompanying, though it will fail them in time of trial when the weight of close examination comes to press upon it. Therefore if they could be shown which were the rightest courses of those that are pleasant

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or easy, and that the preference of them would bear a reference to the grand intention, they would grow more and more in love with rectitude on finding pleasure capable of being turned into it, until by degrees things would become pleasing because right, and because admitting the reference, from troublesome or painful that they were before.

Thus it is owing to the want of that science in the world, that mankind is left in darkness and misery, under the dominion of passion, appetite, fears, vexations, and wordly cares: for a way might be found by directing the choice of pleasures, through which they could, and would travel to the land of light, liberty, and happiness.

When this way shall open no man can tell: I much question whether it will happen in the year of the world six thousand six hundred and sixty-six, and have some doubt that it may not happen at all upon this earth, because apprehending it designed for the use of more passengers than this earth can contain. As I pretend to no revelations I shall not attempt to find out the day of which no man knoweth, no not the Son, but the Father only: nevertheless, as the prophet of reason, presaging upon observation of the Divine economy exemplified in the history of mankind, I presume to augurate that it will happen

pen in some part of our journey through matter, when the ten righteous described in CHAP. XIX. shall arise. Their wisdom will soon draw others resembling them nearest to perfect themselves upon their model: as the numbers encrease, the propriety of their conduct, the justness of their measures, the harmony of their disposition, the amiableness of their characters, and happiness of their lives must become manifest to all, and excite a general admiration with a desire of partaking in the like: their unanimity among themselves, their benevolence to others, their sober discretion and unperverted sagacity will render clear to every capacity, how their example may be followed by persons differently qualified according to the variety of situations and circumstances among them, so that there will be no doubt, uncertainty, nor disappointment, to discourage any body in his progress: as the bent of imitation becomes general, the torrent of custom must drive in the rest, and happy experience will effectually secure those who have once made the trial, so that the whole species will be bound together in one bond of wisdom, love, and happiness: and then shall commence the kingdom, or more probably republic of the just, or if they have a king, it will be none other than God himself, whose Glory, and

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the ministration in whose designs of Providence will be the fundamental law and basis of their constitution.

In the mean while let us make it our ultimate aim and constant intention to advance this joyful event, though as yet lying at an immense distance from us: for, to resume the Stoical metaphor, we are still deeply merged under water, and are so connected together that none of us can breathe the free air until the whole body approaches near the surface, which it is rising towards by slow and scarce perceptible degrees. So that if we can a little ease the weight in any part, or give a lift of one inch to any single member, it is a service to the whole, and a service to ourselves, by speeding the time that is to bring on our total emersion.

Therefore it is our business to observe what gradations of depth men severally lie under, and contrive how we may employ our opportunities for helping them. He that is vain of his piety, his reason, or his public services, hangs a little higher than while he was vain of doing mischief, of follies, or trifles; to be superstitious is something of a rise above hardened insensibility; industry, forecast, economy, generosity, courteousness, is a degree of advance from idleness, giddiness, dissipation, avarice, and ill-nature; the man

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of pleasure, who chooses discreetly such among them as are innocent, swims a span over him who is hurried to and fro by every present appetite, happening to strike strongly upon his fancy.

As the good of mankind in this world is made our direction for attaining the good of the other, those are the measures of rectitude which upon every occasion will yield the greater enjoyment or temporal good to ourselves, or others, or the public; computation being made upon the whole amount of their produce. But since through our inexperience and shortness of our views, this direction cannot always be had, we must take it from those rules which have prevailed among the most judicious and discerning, in the several branches of conduct; always preferring the higher and best authorized before others of inferior weight. And so far as we can act under them with a consciousness of rectitude, either during the performance or upon subsequent reflection, in those instances, whether we be eating or drinking, or whatsoever we be doing, we act in pursuance of our great intention, and may be said to do them all directly or remotely, for the Glory of God.

CHAP. XXVII.

DOING AS WE WOULD BE DONE BY.

AMONG all the rules which may be employed as mediums in carrying on the reference between our ultimate aim and the common transactions of life, there is none better capable of that service, than this of doing as we would be done by. For it connects immediately with the love of our neighbour, by which we most evidently manifest our love of God, for every man will readily give the same treatment to one whom he loves as himself, that he would wish to receive himself, and it is applicable to all our intercourses among one another; because in business, in passing judgment, in discourse, whether serious or amusing, in diversion, in merriment, there is a disposition to serve, to be candid, to oblige, and to please, which a man would be glad to find in others, and may serve him for a rule to return the like to them again.

This precept is enjoined by Christ as the sum of all those delivered by any revelation before: whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this

is the law and the prophets. Human reason was clear-sighted enough to perceive the salutary effects of this maxim, which among Philosophers and Moralists, has been commonly entitled the golden rule, to express its supereminence in value above all others; as well knowing that nothing contributes so much to peace, and order, and happiness in the world, as an equitable temper, disposed to weigh the wants and desires of other persons in equal balance with our own.

And this seems to be the first moral sense that sprouts within us: when reason begins to open, it gives us a concern for the morrow, which lays the foundation of prudence; after having shot its beams forwards to discover the future, it then spreads them in width, making us sensible of the pains and pleasures whereof we see expressions around us. For compassion makes its appearance very early, but compassion is nothing else than sympathizing with the distresses beheld; and the idea of injury cannot subsist without it, wherefore we commonly introduce that idea into children by questions of, how they would like to be so served themselves? Thus as prudence consists in a quick sensibility of good and evil to come, so equitableness consists in a like quick sensibility of the feelings and apprehensions of another: and both alike serve

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as auxiliaries to judgment, by possessing the imagination with objects to set in balance against the present impulses of appetite.

From hence we may learn what course is to be taken for gaining this faculty, namely, by placing ourselves in imagination as exactly as possible in the very situation of other persons, striving to enter into their sentiments, their conceptions, their tastes, their motives, their joys, and their sorrows, considering what we should wish, or do, or comprehend, under the same circumstances, whereto it will be a help if we can recollect any similar situation wherein we have stood ourselves.

But this, like all other habits, is only to be acquired by continual application and practice, which may inure imagination to a readiness and vigour in performing its office. As an inducement to enter upon such practice we may reflect, that we are nothing in ourselves but what God by his courses of nature and fortune has made us, that to them it was wholly owing we were so born, so endowed, so bred, so supplied, so improved as we be, and if he had pleased, we might have stood in the same case in all respects with any persons we see, and they might have been placed in ours.

Then to encourage us in this exercise we

may consider, it is not impossible there may be a rotation through all the states of Being in the Universe, so that every perceptive individual passes in turn through every one of them: which thought must make equity a matter of prudence, because the case of every other will sooner or later actually become our own, and it is our interest to make every part in this theatre of the Universe easy, which we shall one day be put to act ourselves.

But if this appears a romantic imagination, we have experience of the continual vicissitudes and turns of affairs in this world, so that we know not how soon we may need the benefit of an equitable temper and good will in the very person, to whom we may now set the precedent: besides that example, sympathy, and amiableness of the proceeding may generate the like disposition, and procure us the like benefit from others who are witnesses of our conduct. Or at all events, if we have any persuasion of the divine Equity, this will ensure us a personal interest in all the good and evil we bring upon our neighbour, as being in some shape or other certainly to return upon own head.

If then it be our own concern to act equitably in all our dealings with all, it must be so likewise to observe diligently their characters

racters, their conceptions, their views, and every present circumstance that may afford us better direction for so doing; and to stifle every selfish appetite or narrow prejudice which might darken or obstruct us in our scrutiny.

2. Nevertheless, there are some persons who do not want an equitable disposition, yet find themselves obstructed in the exercise of it by a seeming contrariety therein to the rules of justice, and common prudence prevailing among mankind, or are misled by losing sight of the foundation whereon it rests, the purpose to be effected by it. The obstructions and apparent contrariety spring from their confining it within too narrow a compass, taking in only single objects in cases where the consequence of their procedure will extend to many. They scruple to prosecute a thief because they should not like to be punished for what they have done amiss themselves; to sue a debtor to judgment and execution, because they should think it a hardship to be so pressed and straitened; to deny a beggar, because they should find uneasiness in a refusal of what they earnestly desired; to be hard or reserved in a bargain, because they should wish to have all others open and easy with them. But it should be remembered that equity bearing a near relation

lation to love of one's neighbour, ought to extend the same compass, that is, to all who may be any way affected by the thing we are doing: and as we must not love one neighbour so as to neglect the others, so neither must we suffer our equity to one person to make us iniquitous to all the rest.

Therefore in sympathizing with the criminal, the debtor, the necessitous, and the negotiant, we do well; because this will preserve us from animosity, from hard-heartedness and over-reaching: but our sympathy ought not to rest there; we must carry it on to others who may be endamaged in their properties by our remissness, who may be drawn into negligence and wretchedness by our encouragement of illeness, to the public who may suffer damage thereby in the products of labour, to our families who may be injured by the foregoing our rights or softness in contracts, to the simple who may be hurt by our example rendering virtue distasteful and ridiculous.

If we survey all around us to observe what mischief or inconvenience may accrue any where, and reflect how we should like to have those mischiefs fall upon ourselves, then, but not till then, we shall be fully qualified to judge what is equitable: for equity is not herself until she can show a like regard to all

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whom the measure she prompts to may concern. But men are so apt to be guided in every thing by present impulse, they cannot sympathize unless with objects striking their senses, by which means the golden rule of reason becomes transmuted into the base metal of passion, as all other religious and moral sciences may do by ill management: nor can it be restored to standard purity again, until brought to take all the good and evil flowing from our conduct into account, fairly balancing one against the other.

But since we seldom have sagacity or clearness of prospect enough to see the remote consequences of things, we must take direction from the best authorized rules of behaviour in matters of severity, contention, opposition, caution, and regard to private interest in dealings, trusting that they were established upon good foundations for the benefit of mankind: therefore by breaking them we shall so far as in us lies defeat that benefit, and do a certain injury somewhere, though we may not discern where; but our equity, if we have it genuine, will withhold us from doing what we should not like, though to persons unknown, for sake of gratifying one or two whom we have before our eyes.

And this prevalence of impulse above judgment

judgment likewise misleads us in the application of our equity, which ought to follow the same rules with the love of our neighbour: but if our self-love be fond, indiscreet, intemperate, pernicious, and destructive of our real interests, we shall do him no good nor fulfil our duty by loving him in the same manner, as we do ourselves.

When we entice another into debaucheries, lay temptations in his way, or provide fuel for his intemperate cravings, it is no justification to say that we should like prodigiously to be so dealt with ourselves: for by indulging a present desire to the future disappointment of those we shall have at another time, which is the case of all vicious and imprudent pleasures, we are unequitable to ourselves, and to our own desires which are our best friends, if their friendship be impartially cultivated; therefore if we proceed the same way with another, we must necessarily be unequitable to him, departing from the spirit of our rule while seeming to adhere to the letter: just as if a man, who in a fit of strong despair wishes somebody will shoot him through the head; should out of an equitable disposition strive to pistol as many others as he could.

It is pity but parents would take this matter into serious consideration, instead of valuing

valuing themselves upon their inability to deny the pretty creature whatever it eagerly wants; for they often ruin their children by giving the same indulgence to their cravings, and fancies, and follies, as they take for their own. And sometimes the like weakness draws men into an injurious compliance with others not so nearly related to them. But as charity begins at home, so must her twin sister equity; for he that has no prudence for himself cannot have a genuine charity to his neighbour, nor until he has got rid of all partiality to any particular inclination of his own, is he compleatly qualified to practise the golden rule.

And the art of conducting impartially between remote and near gratification may be best learned by beginning to practise it upon another; for as the skin is nearer than the shirt, as the direct view of an object is something brighter than the reflection of it in a mirror, so our fellow feelings are not quite so strong as our immediate sensations, nor the appetites they excite quite so ungovernable; they do not so closely fetter the judgment, which is therefore more at liberty to observe, and better able to execute, what is expedient in another's case than in our own: and after having forced our friends into profitable self-denials in love to them, we shall learn thereby

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to do the same with ourselves, equity and sympathy helping us to go through a discipline we had exercised upon persons, in whose feelings we had a sensible concern.

3. But as a temper truly equitable extends to all persons who may come within its influence, so it will to all branches of treatment in our intercourses among them; it will not only incline us to do as we would be done by, but likewise to think as we would be thought by. We are angry at being slandered, ridiculed, undervalued, triumphed over, though but in thought, if we find it out; at our actions being misinterpreted, our words unfavourably construed, our reasons unattended to, our meaning perverted, and our conduct ascribed to the worst motives it could proceed from: we wish to have all men candid and even favourable to us, desirous of finding grounds to give us their approbations, ready to make all excuses and allowances for our mistakes, to allow us the full merit we deserve; to presume our intentions were good, to enter fairly and willingly into our sentiments, and give us the due share of their esteem: why then should we refuse them what we like so well for ourselves, or practise upon them what we are so vehemently averse to have practised upon ourselves? This certainly is the most opposite

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temper possible to equitableness, and can proceed from nothing but a narrow selfishness, regardless of every thing but the indulgence of an evil habit or fond humour of vanity.

Therefore it is incumbent upon us to eradicate this evil weed, than which there is none more obstructive to the growth of charity, for we can never heartily love those whom we think ill of: but as habits are not presently to be rooted out, it requires our continual application and vigilance to wither it by degrees. For this purpose it will be expedient to study the art of penetrating into the conceptions of persons we have to deal with, not judging them by our own ideas, but by those we may suppose then to occupy their imagination, distinguishing between the outward act and the motives from whence it may proceed, considering how many various apprehensions may give birth to the same action, and seeking impartially for the most commendable, or the most innocent.

It is too common for people who despise the vulgar for want of sense and breeding, nevertheless to expect the same nice discernment and exact propriety from them, which they value themselves so highly upon; which seems a most absurd notion inconsistent with itself, whereas it were more rational to consider

sider their education, ways of living, and customary trains of thinking, to place ourselves in their situation, and then examine what ideas we should be likely to have. We may remember likewise that other people have their passions, their prejudices, their favourite aims, their fears, their cautions, their interests, their sudden impulses and varieties of apprehension, as well as ourselves; we may strive to recollect how those several causes have operated upon us, in how many different lights we have beheld the same object, and how often we have judged the same things right which we now condemn in them. For I have remarked in the Chapter upon that faculty, of how great importance it is to have a well-disciplined imagination capable of casting up in lively ideas what figures may be wanting for the services of reason.

But such expertness is very difficult to be attained, for present objects and the mechanical workings of our temperament so occupy our thoughts for the most part, that we cannot easily recal the state of ideas in our mind yesterday, nor scarce believe our apprehensions were ever different from what they are now, much less can we form a tolerable representation of those in another person. But the harder the art, the more diligently ought we to apply our endeavours towards

towards making some proficiency in it, as being a very valuable acquisition which will prove beneficial to us in many respects not only for its own immediate uses, but for the furtherance it will give to other improvements.

4. For it will help to banish animosity, rancour, envy, censoriousness, detestation, and contempt from our hearts, for we like to have none of those sentiments entertained against ourselves, and may learn to forgive our brother until seventy times seven, by reflecting upon the indulgence we desire for our own miscarriages.

In cases of severity, opposition, and displeasure, it will hold our regards fixed upon the necessity, never suffering us to exceed the length driven to by that, nor to do any thing we must not acknowledge reasonable to be done to us upon the like occasion: and the consciousness of having accustomed ourselves to proceed in this manner will render our contentions compatible with charity, and remove any scruples in the exercise of them. It will bring us familiarly acquainted with the infirmities of human nature, the frequency of misapprehensions and partial views, and how apt the common passions incident to all men are to drive them into unwarrantable proceedings; thereby teaching

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us to stand upon our guard even against friends, yet without abating our friendship, as likewise to defend ourselves against injurious treatment from others, looking upon it as an unlucky accident without doubling the pressure by the vexation arising from an opinion of their malignancy.

It will put a check upon our desire of excelling, representing it as an attempt to bring that mortification upon others, we constantly feel on being excelled. It will teach us to bear troubles and disappointments by considering them as the common lot of human life, from which we have no better title to exemption than any body else. It will keep our desires within the bounds of reason and innocence, thereby doubling the satisfaction taken in gratifying them, with the consciousness of having been careful to admit such only as were injurious to nobody. It will enable us to participate in the pleasures of others, make us glad on seeing, and therefore quick in finding out their comforts, engagements, relishes, and enjoyments, accustomed to contemplate the brightest parts of every prospect and even capable of receiving alleviation from the thought of joys flowing elsewhere, at seasons when we have none of our own. This may prove the most efficacious pill to purge melancholy, the best

music

music to silence the common lamentations of a wicked and wretched world, discovering daily new sources of solacement we had not discerned before, and which the selfish and narrow-souled never can discern, displaying the unsparing bounties of Providence, giving us a better opinion of our existence, and gradually introducing serenity, content, and chearfulness of mind.

Nor does any thing so much assist to enlarge our understanding or improve our judgment; for it is the confining our ideas, the glare of a few objects possessing the imagination forcibly that misleads us into errors, so that we have not freedom for our thoughts, but our very reasonings proceed by mechanical impulse: whereas if we could preserve an impartiality to every suggestion occurring, all would go on calmly and fairly, each consideration have its due weight, and the decision must be our own, as being truly the child of understanding.

For there is a conformity in our manner of judging upon all occasions, the same sobriety or intemperance that prevails in one, will be likely to prevail in all the rest: therefore, as I said before, a man must learn equitableness to himself, before he can be qualified to deal equitably with his neighbour; but every exercise of sobriety in either branch will encourage

courage the growth of it in the other, and besides will supply new lights to our understanding. By inuring ourselves to enter exactly and fairly into the conceptions of other persons, we may discover something for our own advantage: for no man knowingly embraces error, but is always led into it by some specious appearance of truth, which if you can find out, you may chance to make a better use of it than he does, or, what is more, may chance to show him in what particular circumstance it is fallacious; at least by possessing all his ideas you may make your own clear to him much better than in the common way of playing at cross purposes, where each party has a quite different sense of the subjects and arguments handled between them.

It is the practice of tracing the sources of men's ideas that brings us acquainted with human nature, overthrows the vulgar notion of each man having a particular nature of his own, but shows that human nature is the same in all, establishes our intrinsic equality, ascribing the difference of character to the difference, of bodily temperament, or action of external causes.

By using ourselves to take concern in the interests of all we see, we shall easily learn to take the like in those of Beings unseen, the uses

uses of which sentiment have been displayed in former Chapters: and since we commonly frame our idea of God by aid of archetypes found within ourselves, our equitableness and the charity constantly accompanying it, will give us a clearer, fuller apprehension of the divine Equity and Goodness, from whence follows the mutual connection of interests between all perceptive members of the universe: that solid basis upon which I have attempted in the course of this work to try how all the principles and precepts of Religion, morality, and common prudence, in several stories supported by one another, may be rationally erected.

CHAP. XXVIII.

INDOLENCE.

AMONG all the indulgencies abounding throughout the world, there is none so general as that of Indolence, for many men live with very few pleasures, not from a scruple of conscience but because there would be too much trouble in the pursuit; but they are no gainers by the bargain, for it is better to be busy in contrivances for pleasure than doing nothing at all. And indeed this indulgence lies at the bottom as a principal ingre-

dient of all the rest: for what is it makes men led so tamely by every present impulse, but because there is a trouble in resisting it? what keeps them in slavery under an underlighting habit, but because it would cost them pains to break it? what occasions them to faint in midway of attaining a noble virtue or useful accomplishment, but because the perseverance grows toilsome? For as the poet said, incessant labour overcomes all things, so whenever we are overcome, it is owing to the want of sufficient application; because if the thing attempted was really above our forces, the failure is not a defect, nor leaves us in a worse condition to cope with another adversary.

In this application the life of the soul properly consists, for the clearest discernment wherein the mind is always barely passive, shows only the vividness and good colour of our ideas; it is by executing the resolves of our judgment whether in meditation or bodily exertion, that our activity and vigour appear. While driven by impulse of appetite, how strenuous soever our exertions, the machine impelling us is the agent, and we nothing more than instruments employed thereby; but whatever we do in executing the judgment of our understanding, is entirely our own act, and the machine in turn

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becomes the instrument. Therefore by exercises of this faculty, we strengthen the powers of our mental organization, giving, if I may so speak, a tone to its muscles; by controling of appetite we detach in a little from the mechanical springs, gain it something more freedom to play, and prepare it to act alone when separated from the gross corporeal frame, upon our dissolution.

Whether this be admitted or no as a physical conjecture of the manner wherein we are profited by exercises of virtue, there is nobody will doubt that a steady application to the rule of judgment or rectitude tends to meliorate and perfect our better part, but it is not so easy to see wherein this application consists: it is commonly supposed by those who seem its greatest admirers to be something violent and laborious, by which notion they exhaust themselves often to very little purpose, and deter others from using any endeavours at all; but in my humble apprehension more is to be expected from its continuity, than its strength. For appetite as just now observed frequently impels to very strenuous exertion, but there are religious, philosophic, and moral appetites as well as natural and worldly, which without great caution, cannot be distinguished from the resolutions of judgment: therefore if a man

could observe continually the directions of his understanding, that would inform him when to bestir himself with all his might, and when to proceed with a gentle hand.

For there are many things which are best done when done with ease, and where violence, eagerness, and solicitude spoil the performance: this is true in familiar conversation, in the common forms of behaviour, and most of our social intercourses, where earnestness and anxiety are as faulty as a total inattention: even in business and study, though there must be a labour of thought proportionable to the work, yet there is a virtue in taking care it do not exceed that proportion, for by holding the eye too close to an object we shall discern it as imperfectly as upon only casting a careless glance. In general all arts and sciences are laborious at first, but their perfection lies in being able to manage them with ease.

Tranquillity and ease of mind is the sole aim that patience drives at, and there is a virtue in keeping oneself unconcerned at abuse or slander, unattentive to noise and impertinence, unruffled by disappointment, unhurried in dangers or alluring pursuits, and even in a sick man, composing himself to sleep amidst his pains, when told it is expedient for his health; which he will be better

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able to do for having used to follow the guidance of his judgment, than another who had always given way to his indolence.

Religion itself, our most important concern, does not demand a continual stretch of the mind, and is by that error too frequently corrupted into righteousness over-much: but it is not thus that the kingdom of heaven suffers violence and the violent take it by force; for the incense of thansgiving casts up the sweetest odour when streaming spontaneously from the heart, intercession is best when most willingly made, confession flows sincerer from a calm, impartial examination into the state of our mind, than a laboured aggravation of the worst features there; petition preferred in vehemence and anxiety cannot well consist with that resignation which is necessary to render it acceptable; and upon the whole, if our devotion be overstrained it becomes unsuitable for practice, incapable of joining in one system with the common rules of behaviour, so as by mingling its influence among them to sanctify the general tenor of our lives.

2. Men who have a notion of being industrious, often think themselves under an obligation of doing great things thereby, but this is not the true industry springing from a steady application to the resolves of judgment,

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it is the impulse of some passion, generally of fear in religious matters, and of greediness or vanity in worldly concerns, all driving impetuously at some fancied purpose, without taking check or guidance from the reins of reason. For where that can be heard, it will suggest that the first consideration to be taken on engaging in a pursuit is its practicability and suitableness to our situation: we are not to choose our work, but to do that which is set us, for we are servants employed, each at his station, to carry on a part in the great scheme of Providence, we must not take upon us to execute one another's tasks because they are more important, or more laborious, we are to observe our call, and to obey it.

Therefore let us survey our forces, our opportunities, and the demands for industry within our compass to answer: for if by our particular turn of mind, our education or condition of life, we have a chance of becoming instructive or exemplary, then are we called to hard study, or assiduity in religious exercises, or more than ordinary circumspection and strictness of conduct, as the case shall require: if by our talents, our family, or large connections, we are qualified for public services, then are we called to work faithfully and strenuously in the service of

of the public: or if engaged in some toilsome profession, or it happens that some beneficial work offers occasionally which cannot be achieved without strong exertion of our powers: in all these cases let us not be sparing of our pains, nor grudge our labour, for the utmost we can do is well bestowed when it will turn to good advantage.

But if our powers are small, our condition unfavourable, or the occasion presents nothing that may be better accomplished by painful application, then to spend ourselves in fruitless or needless attempts of doing something extraordinary would be a waste of strength and an intemperance: industry then becomes vigilance attentive to acquit ourselves of the little matters before us with discretion and propriety; for to take as much pains in deliberating what tour we shall mark out for an evening walk as if we were purchasing an estate, is an abuse of thought, in such matters it is much better to follow constantly what direction our judgment shall give us by intuition upon a transient glance.

But when we see men bestir themselves violently and eagerly, it proceeds as often from indolence as from industry: they while away their time in trifles through an unwillingness to set to the work, and then are drove hard to dispatch in a few minutes what

what might have been done easily in an hour; or they do not care for the trouble of digesting their schemes, but being sparing of their pains and afraid of bestowing more than necessary, they go about the business in a slovenly manner which proves ineffectual, and so they are forced to do it over again, whence the common observation that lazy folks take most pains; or they want to have the task over, and so make extraordinary efforts that they may come to the season of repose the sooner.

But genuine industry never wishes to be idle, finding a satisfaction in the employment as well as in the completion; therefore is ever attentive to what is feasible, and best fitting the present occasion, proceeds in it calmly, and makes effectual dispatch in every part of the progress.

3. Let us consider that we have but a certain allowance of forces given us, yet capable of some increase by good management, therefore it is our business to improve, to husband, and lay them out to the best advantage. Intemperance in sleep, in eating, and in fashionable diversions wofully waste the time, enervate the strength, and create an aversion to industry, which makes it well worth our while to study what are the limits of moderation according to our constitution,

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and circumstances of situation, and to know precisely where intemperance begins.

Nor will it be a small benefit to cultivate a liking for whatever may be called business, and endeavour as much as possible to keep our spirits always alert, ready to perform any service that reason shall put them upon, because by these practices we shall both increase our forces and continually gain expertness to do more with the same quantity, than was possible before learning the art; for an habitual activity makes no waste, is rarely bewildered, and extricates itself presently in difficulties.

But since with the best improvement our powers will still remain confined within a narrower compass than there is work for them to do, it behoves us to be the better economists, taking care that we do not throw them away upon trivial objects, nor fatigue them by stronger efforts than the business in hand requires, nor spend them in hurry and trepidation, nor exhaust them by attempts of more than they can perform, but allow them such respite and relaxation as are proper for their recruit.

And that we may employ our stock to better profit, it will be necessary to examine the several uses we have to serve by it, distinguishing them by their several degrees of

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greater and less, learning to discern the exigencies of each particular occasion, that we may never stand idle, but always find something to do most proper for the season, as knowing when to use labour of thought or labour of hand, when to deliberate or to act, when to follow business or diversion, when to put our faculties upon the stretch and when to unbend.

The knowledge of all these particulars will perhaps be thought difficult to attain, and well it may, being indeed so difficult as to render it impossible to be compassed compleatly; but we may daily make some proficiency, and what have we else to do in this state of imperfection and darkness, than be continually learning? for herein we manifest and exercise our diligence, one principal object of it being to improve our judgment, and the other to practise what we know. For in this respect we must always be learners, changing our measures from time to time as our skill encreases, and improving in the art as well as the science of life.

The first advances in Religion are made by acquiring a seriousness of temper and avocation of the mind from all objects of sense, but when this is becomé habitual our cares must bend the other way to prevent its growing into a stiffness impeding us in the common

mon offices of life, and to gain that ease heretofore spoken of, by which we may pass readily from devout to worldly employment without mingling an unreasonable tincture of one with the other. The point to be aimed at with the giddy and thoughtless is to bring them to close attention and steadiness, to bear labour of brain and to pursue their ideas in trains without breaking the thread; but when this has been practised, the trains sometimes will continue to run longer than they should, intruding to the interruption of other employments, and defeat the purpose of recreation, which is to relieve the organs of thought by bringing those of sensation and fancy into play.

Now this relaxation of seriousness and close attention, whenever expedient, requires as much command of reason as bringing the mind into it, or keeping her to persevere therein; for the discipline of our faculties appears equally in the ready disappearance of ideas upon dismission, given, as in their steady attendance till then, or quickness to come upon call.

4. There is another branch of prudence grounded upon the feebleness of our powers, which directs to supply by art what we want in strength, to employ the affections and desires for assisting our industry and invigorating

rating our activity: reason itself can do no more than give vain admonitions until it becomes an appetite, sometimes called the hunger and thirst after righteousness or rectitude; which probably may be the principal spring of movement in the mental organization, giving rise to all the rest that are to grow therein hereafter, and therefore deserves to be nurtured with all care and tenderness.

The appetites are the great stimulators of action, were it not for them the world would rust in idleness and the conveniences of it be very ill supplied: they form the rule of rectitude with most men, who generally esteem things right according as coinciding with their favourite aim or ruling passion: the politician thinks it right to do all he can for enlarging his interest, the trader to contrive all safe means of making profit, the tender girl to fly from friends and parents to Edinburgh, the India proprietor to split his stock and the no proprietor to swear that trust is property if he can serve his friend, or advance his hopes of sharing in oriental plunder: and they give occasion to sound judgment by observation of the mischievous errors they make. We are not indeed to employ appetite in this last service, only to stand upon the watch for what benefit may be reaped from its spontaneous excursions; for it would be

be absurd to run ourselves purposely into mischiefs that we might get experience to avoid them another time, this would be doing evil that good may come of it; but we may make good use of appetite to quicken our industry and assist our resolution in executing those purposes which judgment has marked out, to overcome our averseness to trouble, our fears, vexations, pains, or uneasinesses, and to quell the turbulence of other rebellious appetites.

Therefore parents strive to cultivate an attention to the main chance in their children, displaying before them the conveniences and pleasures of easy circumstances in order to give them an appetite to their profession; nor will a man proceed well in any work, until he have a liking to the work itself, exclusive of further advantages consequential thereupon, though generated from them; and many times a pain or affliction may be stifled by some strong desire engaging the thoughts upon other objects.

Since then appetites are both so beneficial and so mischievous, and give an energy to the springs of action working either way, it behoves us to encourage such of them as are salutary, that we may have the benefit of their service when wanted, and to employ such from time to time as are most suitable

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to the present occasion. But among all the appetites, perhaps the most serviceable to fortify resolution is that of honour, whether springing from the good opinion of other persons or from self-approbation, together with its necessary concomitant, the abhorrence of turpitude: for this has been known to carry men through toils, and difficulties, and dangers, and self-denials, and pains, to keep up their activity throughout life; it is the prime mover in the statesman and the soldier, the encourager of learning, the protector of piety, the solace of business, the director of politeness, and proves in most men some check upon the greediness of gain. Yet it not unfrequently points upon wrong objects, and in some delicate persons instead of rousing becomes the avowed patron of indolence; for they deem it unbecoming a gentleman to do any thing, to take any trouble or forbear any indulgence of fancy, through mere affectation they disdain to take care of their estate, or their family, or to put on their own cloaths.

When I meet with such people I am forced to make apologies for the pains taken in my Chapters pretending it is only for amusement to gratify an odd humour, I durst not for the world own a thought of some little ser-

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vice to Religion, or morality, or reason, for that is fit only for Parsons to mind who are paid for it. But it happens to be my humour to fancy the only difference between a man of profession and a gentleman, is that one has his line of business allotted him, the other has his employment to choose, and that he ought to look upon an easy fortune as a salary given by Providence for such services, as he shall judge in his discretion the best he can perform: for the man that does absolutely nothing, is the most insignificant creature upon the face of the globe.

Some indulgence is necessary to appetites not rising at our own call; for we cannot live without sleep, but in composing ourselves thereto the mind has nothing else to do than surcease her activity; leaving the machine to proceed its own way: we cannot live without eating, the quantity whereof is better ascertained by appetite than by weights or measures, or any rule of Judgment, whose office is only to watch that a vitiated appetite does not prolong a craving, after the natural is satisfied: and in many other cases indulgence is not only allowable and innocent, but expedient, nay it is always expedient whenever innocent and allowable. For pleasure rightly understood is the proper end of action, and good becomes so only because productive of

pleasure;

pleasure; but scarce any thing can be a recreation, diversion, or pleasure without some indulgence.

We may consider likewise that the power of reason being feeble, it would be impracticable to keep all our desires in exact order, therefore had better let the least inconvenient sometimes take their course, that we may reserve our strength to cope with the more formidable. And perhaps it may be for the health of our spiritual body that it receive impulse from the gross machine, for while lying therein like a seed in the green husk it may derive nourishment therefrom, and firmness of fibres from its action: so that we must not attempt to tear them violently asunder, but watch all opportunities of detaching one from the other gradually, as fast as shall be found practicable, lest some concretions from the drying husk should work into the inner part which might prove extremely troublesome and tormenting to us when rising to another life.

Therefore it is incumbent upon us to take all possible care, that none of our appetites, neither those of nature nor custom, nor of our own encouraging, get the mastery over us, so as to hurry us on against our Will, nor that any indulgence be given without consent and approbation of the judgment: for

for herein consists our real liberty, and to effect this is the proper object of true industry and application.

CHAP. XXIX.

FONDNESS FOR PLEASURES.

THIS fondness is the most delusive of any that beguile the human heart, because fixing always upon intense delights which vulgarly engross the name of pleasure, but are the least durable or valuable: and the most pernicious because raising the most impetuous desires, hardest to be controlled by reason, nor will even suffer it to work. I have said towards the close of the last Chapter, that pleasure is the proper end of action, and so it undoubtedly is if understood of whatever engages the mind, or throws it into a state of ease and complacence; for happiness is nothing else than the aggregate of pleasures, but then it lies in the aggregate, not in the violence of any single one.

Therefore men deceive themselves egregiously in the point of happiness, by their mistaken notion of pleasure; for esteeming nothing such, that does not elevate and

transport, they overlook those gently soothing engagements, which flowing in continued streams, fill the spaces that would otherwise be occupied by uneasiness, and make up the far greater part of the aggregate. The boy thinks he shall be supremely happy when he can be delivered from the discipline of a school, the labourer if he could be maintained in idleness, the lover if he can obtain his Beauty, every projector and schemist if he can compass the thing he has set his heart upon; that is, he shall be exquisitely pleased; and perhaps he may be, or sometimes perhaps not, if the appetite be palled by too tedious pursuit: but how long will the pleasure last? for nothing exquisite can continue long; our organs cannot hold on their emotions beyond a certain length, but what affected them vehemently at first, will soon become insipid or cloying, and pleasure certainly takes wing, unless there be a succession of other engagements to keep her down.

But intense pleasures too much fill the thought to leave it at leisure to provide for any thing else besides themselves, therefore often are very dearly bought by the mischiefs consequent upon them them, or sometimes paid for beforehand by the thorns of impatience, or run the hazard of a disappointment

ment aggravated by the eagerness they excite: and perhaps it might be found upon a fair scrutiny, that our most cruel vexations grow from the expectation of some such supreme happiness, for whenever having depended upon being vastly delighted, we are always vastly grieved on missing our aim.

A fondness for pleasure keeps us perpetually in want of it, which cannot be assuaged even by possession, for our sensations being transient and momentary, leave a craving behind for the continual repetition of them: but as high delights rarely fall in our way, when the eagerness for them has taken away the relish from all others, the greater part of our time must pass irksome and uneasy.

2. There is reason therefore to beware of this fondness as of a most dangerous enemy, and make it our principal caution to guard against its encroachments: for Pleasure is a sly enchantress, she will be perpetually displaying her allurements to our imagination to gain upon us before we are aware; the world joins in to promote her designs, inviting with their example, infecting with their sympathy, shaming with their boasts of happiness, and almost driving with their exclamations of how charming, how delightful such a thing is; so that we have need of all

our eyes to keep clear of her entanglements. But she is a very Siren, attracting only to devour, for when swallowed up in delights we are as far from happiness, as those who still beat about in the boisterous seas of life: she performs nothing of all she promises, but only makes us barter away a continued satisfaction for a little present gratification, and take a sparkling bubble in lieu of a solid substance.

The luxurious find no greater gust in their dainties, than the plain man in his ordinary food; the delicate are rather moved by the loathsomness of things coarse and inelegant, than any extraordinary joy in seeing them spruce and fine, so they follow pleasure merely as an avoidance of displeasure, aiming at no more than to escape that disgust which never falls upon the man who has not their refined taste: the rich man has been used to have his plenty and conveniences about him, so they become necessaries to him, and he receives no more joy from them than any one would feel in the supply of whatever would distress him to go without; to say he has no wants would be untrue, for though he has not the same which press upon the poor man, he has others relative to his estate, his reputation, his treatment in the world,

world, his plans and projects which he has made necessary to his peace of mind, but which the poor man never knows.

On the other hand, toil and labour, penury and constraint, pain, and affliction grow light by use; and when habituated to the mind, leave no more uneasiness than what is incident to all stations of life; for desire rises with gratification and never ceases to grasp more, till come to a length that must end in disappointment. But the man upon whom fortune smiles, would suffer solely by her frowns, and he to whom she has been averse would be greatly transported on finding the tables turn: this there is no doubt of, but from hence they infer that they should have been in like manner affected if they had each stood always in the others' condition.

Thus happiness depends upon opinion, men estimating one another's portion by their own sentiments without knowledge of one another's pains and pleasures, thinking those only such which would be such to themselves: But if those could be fairly weighed in the scale, I conceive the balance of both would be found much nearer an equality in all stations of life, than is commonly apprehended. The man who lives in pleasure has only a fancied advantage over the drudge in business, the path of both wears smooth and beaten

beaten by continual treading, they both jog on with like degree of ease and engagement, while attentive to their way, unless when casting an eye upon the other's track which one thinks better and the other worse than his own, only becasue the passage from one to the other would respectively be so.

3. This then is the case of pleasure when it can run currently along in an habitual train, but it often raises grievous rubs in its own career, and draws on pernicious consequences. It is the greatest nourisher of indolence and indulgence, giving up the soul to every present gratification, or the prospect of them when had in expectance and ruminated upon in the fancy; thus contracting the view within the narrow compass of a fleeting moment whereby it enfeebles resolution, banishes judgment, and throws discretion off her guard. It is the bait to draw in the young and the unexperienced, for if you can raise in them a strong fancy to any thing, and feed them up with the expectation of gratifying it, you may hamper them in any toils: and so you may sometimes the experienced, if by flashing this glare in their eyes you can hinder them from taking that benefit from their experience, which they might.

What it is that fetters the amorous boy, or tender girl, for life in unequal matches, but the

the imagination of circling joys, perpetual transports, and supremity of happiness? what is it hurries on the voluptuous to ruin their healths, or the extravagant their fortunes, but the contempt of common enjoyments and the humour of being always prodigiously delighted? it is the irresistible joy of growing rich at once, that drives men into gaming till they become beggars at once: and the supreme felicity of gaining a favourite point urges people furiously through toils and troubles, expenses, vexations, dangers, and mischiefs of every kind.

The charms of riot and debauchery make highwaymen and housebreakers, and establish that antiprudential maxim received as fundamental among them, A short life and a merry one; or if they are driven by necessity, it is a necessity created by their aversion to labour, as being unpleasant and therefore intolerable. The allurements of fancy prove the first source of wantonness, of unlucky and mischievous tricks in the earliest years, and in the riper often produce more troublesome effects; for a flow of prosperity with continual indulgence of the desires, commonly makes men capricious, selfish, narrow-minded, untractable, contemptuous, and overbearing, until some galling disappointment

ment or misfortune has taught them, that there are other objects necessary to be thought of besides that of pleasing ourselves.

The School-boy will not mind his lesson while hankering after his plays, nor can the trader thrive whose thoughts are perpetually running upon diversions and elegancies; neither will a man in any line of life ever be good for any thing, until he can banish all imagination of pleasure out of his head for hours together.

Even in Religion it is the joy of being unparalleled saints, overtopping mankind in holiness, that makes people censorious, rigid, and superstitious: the notion of exquisite delights, high transports, and raptures that betrays them into superstition and enthusiasm, most commonly followed by dejections and despondencies, upon which they are ready to pronounce God unfaithful, in not gratifying them so highly, as they had promised themselves. Hence appears how indispensable an obligation we lie under upon all accounts, to learn an indifference to pleasures, because when violently attached to them, they will lead us into dangers and inconveniencies of every kind.

4. Perhaps I shall be thought attempting

to perplex mankind or involving them in contradictions by inveighing so severely against pleasure, which nevertheless I have acknowledged the proper end of action: wherefore it is incumbent upon me to find a clue for extricating us from this labyrinth: and this I conceive may be had by observation of what pleasures excite a fondness for them in our hearts, and are apt to possess our imagination to the exclusion of all other objects: for those only are the Sirens, a principal part of whose malignancy lies in their enticing away from others that are innocent and valuable.

For pleasure rightly understood is the true ultimate point wherein all our lines of conduct ought to centre: whatever we do for the service of Religion terminates in the unspeakable happiness of another life; what we do for mankind, for the public, for our friends or our neighbours, tends to the encrease of happiness or diminution of evil among them, or to some good or convenience from whence they may reap a benefit; and so far as is consistent with the other two it is a duty we owe ourselves to make our lives in every part of them as pleasurable as we can, with our best industry and contrivance, only remembering to contrive for every part, not

not for one small portion of our span in neglect of all the rest.

But one may pursue an end by a steady determinate perseverance without an eager fondness, which might blind our eyes so as not to discern the whole length of our way, or make them see double, and fix upon a false Sun instead of the true, whose clear beams would shew us that the right road lies where there are the most pleasures to be had, not where there are the sweetest. For these captivate the heart, make themselves necessary to us, so that we cannot do without them, but feel an uneasy want whenever they are not to be had, which no other pleasures can assuage, because having lost their relish.

Therefore the true art of pleasure lies in bringing the mind to take it in as many things as we can, more careful to be always pleased than highly pleased, to have many desires but no wants; for then we shall be indifferent to all our pleasures, but tasteless to none. Want always indicates a penury of mind, when it has but one solace to depend upon, and if that fails must be undone: whereas he that has plenty of objects to engage him, need never suffer by the absence of any one. Hence it becomes a matter of prudence

prudence to keep desire upon attainable objects, choosing such as will satisfy rather than such as will delight; for satisfying pleasures will easier give place to the next that follow after them, and so the succession goes on smoothly without rub or interruption.

Not but that the higher pleasures have their use, as I shall shew presently, but in admitting them to our desire, care ought to be taken that they do not endanger the more gently soothing, which make up the greater part of our happiness, and therefore deserve to be chiefly regarded. The principal stream of pleasure flows from the exercise of our faculties either of body or mind, in the pursuit of some engaging end, for which reason hope is more valuable than fruition, because hope makes the pursuit engaging, which the other puts an end to, unless it can open new aims to engage our activity afresh. We shall fare best by keeping attentive to practise the means and provide the materials of pleasure, leaving the fruits to drop spontaneously without stretching to gather them; for pleasure will not be forced either by artifices to strain appetite, or by dwelling upon it in the imagination, or by taking pains to persuade ourselves how much we are pleased; it is always most genuine when springing naturally

rally from the object without efforts to cast it up.

All men agree, though few remember, that hunger is the best sauce; he then receives most pleasure from that appetite who keeps his body in health, and his organs in tone by exercise and temperance, who never thinks of victuals, until he sees them, and forgets them again as soon as the repast is over; for he finds a constant relish in that which nature, or the custom of those among whom he consorts, have made his ordinary food, which relish he would infallibly lose by a little practice of indulgence in high sauces or excess, without getting any thing better in exchange.

The like reason gives the preference to a desire of excellence above that of excelling, because it holds the activity constantly employed in such improvement as can be made, and will afford satisfaction enough as well in the pursuit, as in every little acquisition obtained, which flows purest when coming unsought, and no longer thought of than felt: for the serious contemplation of what we have done or what we have gotten, is a species of indulgence which ought to be very sparingly allowed as a matter of recreation. And if there be a real joy in excelling (as in this world of vanity where all things are esti-

mated

mated by comparison who can avoid doing so?) there is no occasion to let it grow into an object of desire, because that of excellence will answer the same purpose more effectually, for the more diligent we are in making improvement, we shall find ourselves the seldomer outdone, and meet oftener with our inferiors.

But this pleasure, such as it is, ought to be no more than what strikes unavoidably from the objects before us, for if ruminated upon, or endeavours be used to enhance it, there is imminent danger it will lead into the gloominess of pride, the follies of vanity, the delusions of self-conceit, the restlessness of ambition, and the torments of envy, or perhaps the despondency of being undeservedly treated by Providence.

'Even in Religion how fondly soever some folks may affect to talk of transports and ecstasies, yet I conceive the present reward of it lies chiefly in that gently pleasing consciousness of well doing, which accompanies the exercises of it. I do not deny that when having acquitted ourselves well upon some opportunity offered of doing an important service, or in seasons of contemplation when the flood of grace rises strongly upon us, there may be pleasures in a degree to be called exquisite; but these happen very

rarely,

rarely, for they are Angels' food, and we can expect no more than now and then to have a little foretaste of the heavenly Manna: therefore we are not to make them objects of our desire nor aims of our pursuit, but take them as they come without straining our faculties to prolong their duration, or swell up their tides higher than they will spring of themselves: for there are voluptuaries in devotion as well as in eating, and both lose more pleasures than they gain by their endeavours to render them excessive.

But the greatest absurdity of all lies in making it a duty to be transported, for nothing is more incompatible with pleasure than duty, nor can the performance of it ever be pleasing until what was matter of obligation becomes an object of choice upon prospect of a desirable advantage pursued thereby, which will create a hunger and thirst whose gratifications are similar to those of natural appetite.

The principal benefit of Religion with respect to a pleasurable life, is that it supplies us with continual engagement, for so far as we can trace our references home we shall always find something to be done in the service of God, or of our fellow-creatures, or of ourselves, attended with that unsought consciousness of acting rightly, which never cloys:

cloys: and it is likewise an infallible test to distinguish the siren pleasures from the innocent, for those that are fond, or vicious, or inordinate will never bear the reference to our ultimate intention.

5. Nevertheless, pleasures, as I hinted just now, have their uses; for they together with fears first teach us activity, and are much the better mistresses of the two. Therefore Nature in our infancy gives a quickness to our organs which makes them capable of striking strong sensations, and finding a delight in almost every exercise that is not put upon them by constraint: if it were not for this, children would never awake out of that drowsy stupidity which overwhelms them for the most part in their cradles; when they can run about, you see them incessantly busy in their little plays which keep their limbs or their imagination in movement during those long intervals of time wherein hunger and thirst cannot find them employment; as they grow up they begin to have a forecast for pleasures a little remote; this gives an engagement to the prosecution of an object not immediately within their reach, and they can be pleased with taking the right measures for procuring something that will please them by and by, from whence afterwards by long process grows the

the idea of rectitude, and the satisfaction felt in the steps taken towards an ultimate aim.

And in our riper years there must generally be the expectation of something apprehended very delightful to make us enter upon business, or undertake any long work: no matter whether the delight prove so great as apprehended, for here again happiness depends upon opinion; but the opinion is necessary to engage us in the work, and procure us the satisfaction found in the engaging pursuit. Thus are we often cheated into a real good by the lure of an imaginary, like the old man's lazy sons in the fable, who were set a digging to their great profit in the improvement of the vineyard by being told of a hidden treasure. Or if the pleasure expected be real, still it is less in quantity than that distilling in the progress towards it; for I believe My lord Mayor's coach has been the remote occasion of more engaging satisfaction to the apprentice, than ever his Lordship felt in it himself.

Pleasures serve to recreate and unbend the mind, and when properly interspersed lighten the burden of any laborious work: they give a briskness to the spirits, a chearfulness to the temper, contribute to preserve the health by quickening and smoothing the circulations,

and

and unite people together in intimacy; for nothing makes friendship more hearty than a participation of pleasures, unless it be a fellowship in distresses which is a much less desirable cement: they make us take a fuller notice of the places we have been at, the objects we have seen, and the transactions we have born a part in; and often store up a fund of entertainment for the imagination in the remembrance of them after they are past, insomuch that Epicurus placed the happiness of his wiseman when under the frowns of fortune, in the recollection of former enjoyments. But I differ from him upon that point, as expecting the benefit rather from a spontaneous reflection or one that rises easily, than from a forced recollection; for I would have nothing forced in matters of pleasure, and conceive that herein lies the great error of your men of pleasure, who turn it into a toil, and spoil its relish by their great pains to enhance it.

Instruction sinks deepest when conveyed in amusing tales, or the manner of receiving it can be made an entertainment: the flowers of rhetoric when aptly fitted on, like the feathers to an arrow, give force to the steely points of argumentation: elegance of language, harmony of composition, method, allegory, allusion, familiar example, whatever

helps to illustrate or draw up the colours of things, at once pleases and informs; for it is the property of light to entertain the eye while it discovers the object: the pleasures of conversation make one among the principal links of society, multiply the intercourses among mankind, and help transactions of business to go on the easier.

Nor is pleasure incapable of finding an entrance even into the holy offices of Religion, as witness the trumpets the choiristers, the perfumes, the golden vessels, the rich vestments, the splendor and magnificence of the Jewish temple, the love feasts of the primitive Christians, the organ in our Churches, and chanting in our Cathedral service.

But it is not at the altar alone that pleasure may be turned to the service of Religion and Philosophy, by assisting to work that largeness of heart which renders it their fittest receptacle: pain and uneasiness necessarily contract the views; while under them it is scarce practicable for a man to think of any thing beyond himself, and his present grievance; but a little enjoyment of innocent pleasures setting the mind at ease within itself, opens his prospect, he then can take concern with things around him, diffuse in sincere charity to his fellow-creatures, comprehend the general interest, and pour forth

in

in hearty thanksgiving for that flood of bounty which, like the vital air, expands everywhere except in some few dungeons and loathsome places, and whereof he now feels the influence.

Thus we see the value of pleasures does not lie in themselves but in their uses, and many times the joy of having gained our point is nothing, but the whole delight stands confined to the pursuit: we matter not the shilling we play for at cards, yet if we played for nothing there would be no diversion in the game; so in the games of traffic, of ambition, of accomplishment, the wealth, the honour, the perfection, when gained, will not invest us with the supreme happiness we flatter ourselves, yet without such expectation we should not pass our time so agreeably as we do in managing our cards well, and making advances towards them.

This might teach us the true science of pleasure, which consists in distinguishing those that are most productive of engagement, of activity, of agreeable reflection, of chearfulness and serenity of mind, or stimulate to useful acquisitions, and prefer those before the more exquisite. But science will avail nothing without a strength of resolution to practise it, which may enable us to choose for ourselves among our pleasures, and to

choose with discretion, not with fondness, nor ever suffer them to force themselves upon us whether we will or no, to harbour no wants nor anxious cravings for them: for this is what was meant by the Apathy of the Philosophers, this is that forbearance which is one of the two branches of our Redemption, and this stands included in what was styled in Scripture language, asserting the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

6. This selection of pleasures valuable for their fruits and appendages from those which delight only in the fruition, most obviously marks the difference between a civilized and a barbarous people; for the pleasures of pure nature, the gratifications of undisciplined appetite are as intense, or perhaps more so, than those of refinement.

When a child, I have been more highly delighted with a coloured print bought for a halfpenny, with a ballad tune sung by the coarse-piped chamber maid, in reading the dragon of Wantley, in discovering a better way of building houses with cards, than ever I was since with the finest paintings, the sweetest music, the sublimest poetry, or the luckiest thought occurring in the progress of my Chapters: even the heights of Philosophy and effusions of grace, if you regard only the present

present moment, are not more transporting than the amusements of childhood. Nor do I doubt that the American savages find as strong relish in their lumps of flesh with the skin on, taken from the burning coals, in their contrivances to catch the beavers, in successes against their enemies and seizures of plunder, as we do in our dainties, our elegancies, our arts, and accomplishments. And after all, perhaps we have no greater enjoyments among us than those of eating when we are hungry, drinking when we are thirsty, laying down when sleepy, or as the second Solomon has pronounced, than scratching where it itches.

But arts and sciences and the civilized modes of employment add to the enjoyment of life not by heightening the gust of it, but by supplying more in quantity with a less interrupted continuity: we must indeed have an imagination of something very delightful in the possession of them to engage us to the pursuit; but this notion had better gradually subside, as indeed it generally does, in proportion as the pursuit becomes habitual and pleasant. But the benefit results from the pursuit itself, which finds employment for our time by supplying us continually with engaging aims in the steps taken towards attainment of our purpose, and yields a fund

a fund of agreeable reflection on the advances we have made, which is compatible with our other reasonable desires, which provides for the entertainment of other persons besides our own, and takes us off from the indulgence of those natural appetites, that would be troublesome to others and pernicious to ourselves.

For we may observe, that the arts of pleasure have their foundation in the resistance of pleasure, we must get rid of our gross tastes to acquire a refined, the first effect of manly desires is to give us a contempt for those childish ones which used to afford us vast delight before, and in all accomplishment there is something of a subjection of appetite. Politeness cannot subsist without an easy, unruffled temper, capable of stifling all emotions that rise in the breast, the genteelest players at games of diversion are those who show the least eagerness, who can win without transport or lose without concern, and in all arts the ignorant are known from connoiseurs by that rapturous amazement with which they are struck upon beholding extraordinary performances.

Thus the arts providing for the embellishment of life were not designed to make us more fond of pleasure, but to bring that propensity which there is in most men thereto into

into a regular system whereby to prevent it from running out into extravagant and dangerous excursions: for it is better to persuade a man to study any science whatever, than that he should act wantonly without any science at all; and there being such an infinite variety of dispositions among mankind makes it necessary to provide employment for the industry and ingenuity of them all; besides that industry of any one kind helps to encourage that in every other, as well by increasing the demands for its produce and so promoting commerce, as by rendering the spirit, activity, and contrivance more general: therefore we find that in proportion as countries grow better policied, the polite arts go hand in hand with the useful, or at least do not wait long for their introduction after the others have been established. For they contribute a share for the benefit of society, making it the business of some to prepare materials for the entertainment of others; and if it is said they give occasion to vices unknown among the ignorant, this may be true without their increasing the growth of wickedness, but only by turning it into a different channel: for there is a perversity of character to be found among all families upon earth, which will find matter to work upon, wherever placed. The same persons whom

whom we see rapacious, over-reaching, and tricking here, would have been pilferers, robbers and plunderers if born among savages; those who riot in luxury among us, would have been likely to wallow in sensualities among them; for the same error leads into both, namely, their fondness for high delights, and inability to resist the impulse of any allurement striking strongly upon their fancy.

CHAP. XXX.

SELF-DENIAL.

THE greatest conquest, say all the Sages of ancient and modern days, is that of ourselves; for victory is never so glorious nor so valuable as when gained over an invader or a tyrant, who would enslave us: but there is not a more imperious or oppressive tyrant in nature, than that usually called Self-love; though his true name be Self-fondness, the most opposite to love and the most dangerous to its interests, because assuming its likeness and thereby beguiling the unwary to court their own thraldom.

Liberty is dear to all, but the ideas of it are very different, nor perhaps are there many terms current in language which are so little understood: men commonly place it in a

licence

licence to do uncontroledly whatever their desires or the present impulse of passion shall prompt them to; but the liberty of the sons of God consists in an exemption from passion and a superiority to desire, so as they may be able to choose and to act as they will, upon all occasions, being passive in none of their motions, nor hurried along impetuously by any force whatsoever.

Now the two great obstacles against this freedom are Pleasure and Pain, which the imbecility of human nature in its present degraded state renders it unable to resist; nor shall we ever become freemen until having attained that perfect power of endurance and forbearance, which is to be our deliverance from original sin and the compleating of our Redemption. This is a great work never to be finished in this life, wherein yet we must make what progress we are able, or else shall go out utterly unprepared to carry it on in the next.

Therefore it behoves us to be diligent in loosening the bonds that hold us, which is done two ways, either by weakening the force of our desires, or strengthening our own resolution: the former is the more generally feasible, for we may starve desire by keeping prudently out of the way of temptation, or finding other amusements to engage us from it;

it; but the latter is the more desirable, as comprehending the other within it, for every throwing of the adversary lessens his vigor while it adds to our own, and it is always esteemed more advantageous to beat an enemy in open field where it can be done, than to elude his grasp by stratagems or countermarches. But to qualify us for the day of battle it will be necessary to prepare beforehand by discipline and exercises, and frequent skirmishes with such parties as we can master, whereby to acquire experience and hardiness to cope with the more formidable.

He then who is duly sensible of his natural weakness will endeavour to mend it by seasonable self-denials, refusing himself innocent pleasures that they may not get him within the sphere of their attraction, nor become necessary to him, and undergoing some fatigues and troubles not immediately needful, that he may not be afraid of them when expedient; that he may have the entire command of his own actions, and be able to take up or lay down his affections and aversions with the same ease as he could sit down to a game at cards with pleasure, or let it alone without hankering, or as he could go out in a rainy day, if there were occasion, with tranquillity, or comfort himself with the thoughts of having a dry house over his head.

2. But

2. But there are grievous mistakes made upon this article of self-denial for want of bearing in mind the use and intention of it, which is none other than to preserve our independency against all attempts of desire, or fear to bring us into subjection under them. Some esteem it a thing good in itself, an acceptable offering to God when they sacrifice all their enjoyment and their ease to please him, therefore the more they afflict themselves by abstinences and austerities, the richer their holo-caust will be.

But God desires no such sacrifice, nor is he pleased with the sufferings of his creatures. He gave us our existence that we might be capable of enjoyment, he has spread innumerable blessings around us upon the earth, that we might be happy in the right use of them, and we serve him best when we take the most effectual methods to secure happiness for ourselves together with our fellow-creatures, for which purpose as I have shown before, all our religious duties and services are calculated. He has made satisfaction the first and constant mover of our actions, he has rendered pain and uneasiness abhorrent to our nature, nor should we ever have inducement to stir a finger, if we could once become totally indifferent to both: but as a man in trade must exhaust his coffers to buy merchandizes,

merchandizes, by the profit whereof he may replenish them the fuller, so it often happens that our sole avenue to pleasure lies through pain, in which case it is prudent to disburse our hoards of ease and enjoyment for the sake of a larger return, so that we pursue pleasure even while running voluntarily into troubles.

Therefore the prospect of some addition to our happiness is the only justifiable ground of self-denial, nor, as I have said formerly, would I have a man ever deny himself any thing, unless in order to please himself better thereby another time: not that I expect he should always clearly discern that consequence, for the arts of moral prudence respecting remote advantages are not traceable by every body, nor compleatly by any body, therefore he must take guidance from the rules established upon the experience of others, who have hung them out as marks for the direction of such as are unacquainted with the road. But whoever first laid down the rules ought to have discerned the benefits resulting naturally from them, or he acts deceitfully, and he that follows them proceeds upon a confidence of their having been so laid down: for if he has not a discernment of his own of the benefit to accrue, nor the sanction of a rule, or thinks to refine upon his

his teachers by exceeding the austerities prescribed without a clear view of their expedience, he acts foolishly and inconsiderately, if not wickedly. And the affliction of ourselves is so far from being a necessary ingredient in self-denials, that we ought to make our principal aim to admit as little of it as possible in the exercises of them; for the cheerfuller and easier we can go through the task, the softer we can make the burden lie upon our shoulders, the more manfully we can perform our exercises, so much the better, and so much the more acceptable in the sight of Heaven, as being a compleater conquest over the enemy, and a greater improvement of our own strength, which will enable us to pursue our advantages for the future without trouble from those allurements and terrors that used to prove an obstacle before.

For the only purpose of self-denial is for inuring us to do the same things we did under it, without any reluctance or self-denial at all; and the sooner we acquire this habit, the less we shall suffer in the learning, and the more effectually we shall answer our purpose. Therefore it is advisable to take our eye off as much as possible from the greatness of the difficulties we undertake, and fix it upon the advantages we promise ourselves therefrom, or upon the consciousness

ness of rectitude, which is a certain evidence of advantages we do not see: and when by this means we have in time brought the difficulty to be none, it will both encourage and prepare us to surmount greater difficulties in like manner.

3. Nevertheless, it behoves us to use conduct as well as courage, and manage prudently as well in respect to the time of making our attacks, the quarters where they may be practicable, as the choice of such adversaries as prove our greatest annoyance, and to make a timely retreat whenever overmatched: for our natural debility is such, that we have need of all our circumspection and contrivance to do any good with it.

There are people who never think of discipline while things go on smoothly and currently, but when some affliction or pain falls upon them, or lowness of spirits oppresses them, then they will needs resolve upon great achievements, when having enough to do to support the present pressure they lie under. This is ill timing of things, it is whetting the sword when the enemy draws close upon them. But the seasons of prosperity are the proper seasons for self-denial, when the spirits are strong, the forces fresh, and the mind at ease to look about and contrive; for then the Siren enemies are busiest about

about us, then are we best able to cope with them, and then is the time to lay in a stock of patience and hardiness, which we may find the benefit of in time of trial, whether upon some grievance befalling or some arduous service requiring our dispatch.

Others there are, who can be satisfied with nothing less than heroism in self-denial, they must be Alexanders to carry the world before them, or Herculeses to subdue all monsters. Those are commonly people who proceed upon the motive of fear and obligation: they must wage perpetual war against all the enemies of God, or they shall incur his wrath and be delivered over to the devil.

It is indeed our duty to subdue all enemies we can, but the addition of We can will make large deductions from the particle All; and there is no duty in attacking those we cannot overcome, nor will the devil lay hold of us for the omission. We are to wage perpetual war, but our warfare consists more in vigilance to take all advantages, than in bravery to challenge every foe, and even when we do exert our vigour it must be guided and tempered by discretion. When men drive furiously on with a resolution to storm Heaven at once by violence, they become

come righteous over much, that is, erroneously so; they would make clear work as they go along, cutting up every desire, root and branch, eradicating every sensibility of pain, or terror, or uneasiness.

But our desires and our aversions are necessary to us, for without them we could have no choice of action: the business is to prevent their getting head so far as to impose a choice upon us, that we may be always free to choose for ourselves; but we can choose no otherwise than upon the judgment of what is most desirable, or clearest of consequences to which we are averse: neither should we know wherein to serve our neighbour, if we could meet with one who had neither desire to gratify, nor fear to be delivered from.

But it often happens that such as will needs be righteous over much, fail of being righteous enough; for while eager on their austerities, abstinences, and arduous enterprizes, the enemy comes behind and trips them up, so as to disable them from acquitting the common offices of life, or perhaps their very eagerness turns into a passion, which requires a particular self-denial to master it. But a wise general will take good care of his own territory before he thinks of making inroads, and leave no little strong hold untaken

taken behind him, while marching inconsiderately into the heart of the enemies country.

Therefore it behoves us to becomes perfect in common goodness, before we aim at extraordinary: to take care there be no unnatural cravings in eating and drinking, for dainties, elegancies, or curiosities, no indulgence of the pillow, aversion to trouble, impatience under pain, cross accident; or disappointment, listlessness or dilatoriness in business, vexation at being put out of way, proneness to murmur, to despond, to censure, to despise, to draw comparisons, no unevenness of temper, nor other such evil habits which are frequently contracted unwarily by giving too close an attention to feats of extraordinary prowess.

Since then we have not eyes to look every where, nor forces to act offensively against all enemies at once, it becomes us to level our batteries against those that give us the greatest annoyance, to discover the sins that do so easily beset us, to consider our station in life, our particular duties, the works we have to do, and apply our self-denial to the best advantage for removing those obstacles, which used to retard us in the performance of them. If without neglect of this service we can acquire higher degrees

of endurance and forbearance, qualifying us to perform extraordinary services, it is a glorious achievement: but we shall do right to be cautious in struggling with a potent adversary, for when we find him too much for us it will be prudent to retire in time, because by persisting obstinately to strive against an insurmountable difficulty, we only exhaust our strength and leave ourselves defenceless against the first assailant that shall afterwards attack us.

And before we bestir ourselves much to gain extraordinary powers, it will be worth while to consider what good we could do with them if we had them: for if they would lie useless in our hands, it can be but labour lost to take pains in the acquisition. How would the man of fortune be more serviceable if he could bear the burthens of the porter, or endure his coarseness of diet and nastiness of living? We who are happily placed in a country of liberty where Religion has the protection of laws, what could we do more for its interests if we were able to suffer martyrdom, to sacrifice houses, possessions, wives, children, ease, and life, for the faith? I do not deny that those are valuable and desirable qualities, if they were to be had with a wish; but how is it our duty to toil and struggle for them while we have

have other work enough upon our hands? For in all our motions we are to regard the call of Heaven signified by the talents and opportunities afforded us, and the ways wherein our industry may prove effective to some beneficial purpose, and to practise such discipline or other methods as will better qualify us to obey the call.

We are taught to pray, Lead us not into temptation, which would be superfluous if it were expected from us to become capable of resisting all temptation: therefore we need not be disturbed at wanting the firmness sufficient to carry us through all kinds of labours, troubles, distresses, and sufferings whereof we have heard, or seen examples. For though a prudent General will leave nothing to chance that he can help, yet for all his prudence a great deal will still remain in the power of chance; nor can we expect, like the arrogant Stoics, ever to make ourselves secure against being hurt by the malice of fortune, for this would raise us to a state of independency: but this will not deject us when we reflect whose disposal fortune lies under.

For we may contemplate all the burdens, hard services, and evils incident to human life without terror, and enter upon any of them, when called thereto, with courage, as confiding in the Goodness of God, that he

will not lead us into temptation above what we are able to bear, or will with the temptation also make a way to escape, whereby if we are not now, we may become able to bear it.

4. The proper end of self-denial is ease and enlargement of power, to bring our desires and aversions under such discipline, as that they may never obstruct nor trouble us in the prosecution of our truest interests and enjoyments: therefore those are mischievous and blameable austerities that weaken our natural powers and appetites, which are the instruments given us whereby to help ourselves upon all occasions. He that fasts till he has destroyed the tone of his stomach, till he has emaciated himself or brought a feebleness upon his muscles and a poverty into his blood, has very ill bestowed his pains: for what avails it to remove obstacles to your work if you likewise remove away all the ability you had to perform any? He who shuts himself up from all enjoyments of the world until he has lost all knowledge in the ways of the world, only makes himself a less useful member of society, than those who drive along in the torrent of impulse with the common run of mankind.

For as I have remarked in a foregoing Chapter, some indulgence is necessary to support

support the health, to recreate the spirits, to save the strength for great occasions, to give a briskness and chearfulness to our motions, to leave us at leisure for learning and observation of what passes around, and for receiving the influence of sympathy by which the benefits of society are principally conveyed.

It is a very nice point to know exactly how far to indulge, and when to deny, and therefore deserves the more diligent study: but what have we else to do than live and learn? nor is there a more profitable science to be studied than the right timing and proper application of our resolution. For as with respect to the company or the world about us, compliance is a virtue but passiveness a fatal error, so it is in our transactions at home among our own desires: we must suffer them to lead, but never to drive us, nor even to lead, unless when we suffer it, keeping the reins always in our hand, though we do not always use them, and having our eyes constantly open that we may see the way before us, so as to know upon all occasions why we give way, and why we restrain: for this is that common sense which is more valuable than fine sense, that discretion which steers equally clear from the follies of impulse, and the extravagancies of rigid Philosophy or righteousness over much.

Excess

Excess of self-denial often springs from a fund of laziness lurking at bottom; men think to master all their passions by a violent exertion at once, that they may have nothing left to do afterwards: and sometimes as already noticed in the last section, self-denial itself by growing eager will corrupt into a passion. In this case it becomes an enemy as much as any other passion it has subdued, and as much requires another self-denial to bring it down, by resisting its impulses that it may not run away with us.

For if we cannot break off our labours and our austerities upon occasion without vexing and hankering after them, we are not freemen, but have let this most excellent servant encroach upon us till he is become our master: therefore it is expedient to keep him within his duty by purposed interruptions, and a ready compliance with avocations of business, or amusement that any body shall throw in our way; for without some such caution we may run a great hazard of growing righteous over much.

So that it is a vain imagination to think of doing our business by a strong exertion once for all, but the desire of having no further need of self-denial is perhaps the propensity most expedient for us to subdue; for this life is a school and a warfare, wherein we must

must always be exercising, always improving, and always contesting; our greatest ease must spring from the expectation before hand of never being at rest, and like the Spartans, inuring our mind to a military state, keeping a constant look out, and standing in readiness to march, to counter-march, and change our measures alertly, as occasion shall require. But it is not easy at all times to see where the enemy lurks, for the passions often urge to very rigorous denials of one another, in which case we may be strengthening impulse by the very exercises with which we think to subdue it.

Ambition will drive through toils and struggles, abstinencies of all kinds, patience of pains, fatigues, contradictions, and indignities; the passion of being admired has made some girls almost starve themselves for a shape, and do more than Popish penance in stays uneasier than a hair shirt, nor is there any favourite scheme men have strongly at heart, which may not enable them to do and suffer great things for accomplishing it: all this while they fancy themselves miracles of patience and resolution, but are indeed driven like a nail with a hammer, by the force of one passion, surmounting the resistance of another. It may be good policy to employ those champions to bring down a stubborn foe,

foe, too strong for our sober reason to deal with, but they will conquer for themselves, not for us, unless we keep them disciplined from time to time by seasonable self-denials of the passions they instigate in us.

5. There is a discipline which Providence exercises upon us in the pains, afflictions, disappointments and other trials interspersed among mankind, of which we may make good profit by striving against the desires that are particularly hurt by them. They are not indeed self-denials because not voluntarily undertaken, but we may turn them to the same use, and they were sent with design to be so turned.

This reflection, while a man can hold it lively in his imagination, might encourage him to strive for his present ease and future profit by endeavouring to lessen his aversion to the pressure laid upon him: he will scarce be able to do this compleatly, nor need he think amiss of himself that he cannot, for human infirmity is not a fault; but the persuasion of such a power being a desirable thing, if it could be acquired, will help by little and little to a consent and acquiescence of the mind in his burdens without any want of a riddance from them.

But where there is no want there is no imbecility; you may hold your hand near a roasting

roasting fire so long as you can keep from wanting to get rid of the burning heat, though you feel the smart you do not suffer by it, nor are forced to snatch your hand away. This is called patience, and answers the same purpose as self-denial, by weakening those aversions which stand in our way against the prosecution of advantageous schemes. Nevertheless, the exemption from want does not necessarily banish desire, for we may desire a thing without wanting it: neither need the fullest consent of the mind to burdens we cannot help, withhold us from effecting our deliverance as soon as we can; for as I have said in a former place, we are to kiss the rod of affliction, not to court it.

Enjoyment is our proper goal, nor are we ever to take the miry road of pain and trouble voluntarily, unless upon a reasonable prospect of its leading thereto; when God calls to trials we may depend they are for our benefit, but the moment he opens a way to escape the call ceases, nor shall we ever serve either him or ourselves by running into them needlessly.

CHAP. XXXI.

HABITS.

It may be remembered that in the last Volume I made a triple division of the human compound into Body, mental organization, and perceptive Spirit. The last, which alone is properly ourselves, the other two having only a borrowed personality while in vital union therewith, can receive no alteration either in form or quality, but must continue for ever the same, unless it should please God by an immediate act of his Omnipotence to re-create it in another nature: for every alteration proceeds from a different disposition of parts, or accession of new parts, or subtraction of old, none of which can happen to the Spirit, as being an individual having no parts, nor capable of admitting any: it can only change its condition by having a different set of organs whereby to perceive, and of instruments wherewith to act. But the other two being material compositions, may admit of alteration, and it behoves us so far as in our power lies, to work such as may prove an amendment of them in form and quality: more especially the

the second part in the division which is our more inseparable companion, and to share in our personality for a long, long continuance, after we shall have taken final leave of the other.

But how shall we go to work for managing either of them? we cannot come at them by manual operation, nor take their springs to pieces, as one might the works of a clock, in order to file, or straighten, or clean, or rectify them in any respect. The bodily movements we may help a little by diet, medicine, and exercise, but none of these methods will touch the spiritual body, nor even the finer circulations of the carnal, wherein its passions, inclinations, aversions, imaginations, combinations, trains of ideas, and all the mechanical impulses depend. Yet these are the subjects we are to work upon, the engines we have to employ, as well for securing ourselves and our fellow-travellers an agreeable passage along this present stage of our journey, as providing a good constitution for the inner body wherewith it may rise to health, and vigor, and happiness, in the next.

But can scarce have profited so little by experience as to fail of observing, that ideas rise whether in clusters together, or successively in the same order wherein they have been frequently introduced; the animal spi-

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rits which cast them up circulating more readily, like the grosser fluids, in those channels which have been worn smooth by continual passage.

From hence proceed our habits both of acting and thinking, for both depend upon the same cause, to wit, the spontaneous or mechanical rising of ideas in our thought; for our actions constantly follow the apprehensions and motives occurring from time to time, which though they may be sometimes called up by the understanding, yet arise for the most part from our customary trains of thinking: or if judgment does direct to an end, the steps to be taken in prosecution of it must be suggested by habit, or the business will not go on readily and currently.

This is particularly evident in foreign languages, which how thoroughly soever a man may be skilled in, he will not be able to talk without much practice, whereas in our vulgar tongue if the subject does not require thought, there wants none to run on fluently with a torrent of words by the hour together, and sometimes people will blurt out things inadvertently, which if judgment had been awake it would have suppressed.

All our arts and ways of acting, the management of our limbs and expertness of every kind derives from habit, nor can science

ence proceed without a peculiar art in marshalling the thoughts; the turns of genius too and acquired tastes were taken, I conceive, from some habitual bias the young imagination had fallen into early, for else, were they the sole gift of nature, why should they be so various among mankind, but so generally similar in particular times and countries; But all habits must have a beginning, being generated by single acts either of external objects, or example and sympathy, or of our own industry, and may be lost again by disuse, occasioned either by discontinuance of the like causes, or their working out different channels.

Since then habits are of so great efficacy to determine the colour of our lives, and the last mentioned only of the three causes producing them lies within our power, but the other two no further than as we may use that to put ourselves within their influence or to avoid it, we shall do wisely to apply our best skill and diligence for encouraging or contracting such of them as may be salutary, and escaping or breaking such as are pernicious.

2. But the principal habit best deserving our cultivation is that of industry itself, which, as already shown, does not lie so much in a continual laborious application, as in a calm, steady

steady vigilance to act always with consciousness or advertency as well in matters of small as greater moment, and with a consent of the judgment, whether passed deliberately or intuitively, according to the exigency of the occasion: if this cannot be done without strenuous attention it indicates a deficiency of habit, for things we are well habituated to we do easily, with no strain upon the mind to hold it attentive.

Perhaps it will be said that such habit is not to be perfectly learned; I know it is not, therefore would not have it imposed as an indispensable task, for I am for making as little use of obligation as possible, because in difficult cases it oftener dishcartens than stimulates: but if the benefits of such habit were contemplated, the desire of obtaining them, drawing men to take all opportunities of advancing, they might daily make some progress in it; and moderate efforts continually repeated will suffice to work a habit much better than violent exertions which can be made only now and then.

This confirms what I have urged before concerning the imprudence of being righteous over much, which would attempt to live in fervors of devotion, or to shape the whole conduct by the highest rules of abstracted rectitude, for such strenuous exertions exhaust

haust the spirits, and in the intervals while they are exhausted, things must be done inadvertently; wherefore an attention to the lights flowing almost spontaneously from the rules of common prudence or propriety in the ordinary transactions and intercourses of the world, is necessary to perfect the habit of acting advertently, which we had begun in our serious exercises: for it is the more important of the two to bring the conduct to follow steadily the judgment occurring, than to have the judgment itself exactly informed.

The residence of this habit seems to be in the spiritual body, wherefore the acquisition of it is the best improvement we can make therein: not that I suppose any of our habits, our appetites, our expertness, or stores of knowledge shall remain with us after our dissolution; for since the objects we shall have to converse with, and functions we shall have to perform are likely to be totally different from the present, the retention of our old ideas or ways would make them extremely troublesome, and render every thing strange. For novelty is different from strangeness, one is engaging, the other unpleasant, but new objects are made strange only by some discordance with old trains. When children are first born every thing must be new to them but nothing strange, until they become familiar

familiar with nurse and mamma, and then they take violent distaste at strange faces.

But use and habit are well known to strengthen the powers employed in them, nor do they fail to work alterations even in the structure of our bodily frame: why else do our right arms grow stronger and the pulses in them more vigorous, than the left? why is the flesh of the laborious firmer, and their muscles better knit, than of the dissolute and effeminate, unless by the efficacy of exercise to draw them into a closer contexture? A man that had learned to dance, or been much practised in other exercises of activity, though by drinking the waters of Lethe he should utterly lose all his skill and expertness, would nevertheless retain his strength of limbs and suppleness of joints, and be able to learn the same again or other feats of dexterity much quicker, than one who had spent his time in lumpish indolence. So the faculties of the spiritual body, though to be employed in learning arts intirely new, yet will be better qualified in robustness and agility to make proficiency in them for having been habituated to follow the judgment directing upon its present lights.

3. Now the first direction of judgment is to promote the general interest of the Universe with which our own stands always inseparably

separably connected, as it is the first rule in worldly economy to take care of the main chance: but since we know not how to do this for want of discernment to see in what particulars the great general interest may be affected, we must take guidance from the interests of our fellow-creatures with whom we have a visible connection; for those are the marks which God has given us whereby to know his Will, and what courses help to carry on his great design, the good of the creation. Therefore it behoves us to provide ourselves with such habits, as will render us expert in promoting the benefit or enjoyments of mankind whether in mind, body, or externals, and of ourselves as being included in the number.

The principal of those are faith, and hope, and charity, prudence or the faculty of taking equal concern in the future with the present, endurance of pain, trouble, and disappointment, composure in danger, self-command in joy, moderation in pleasure, equitableness or the capacity of judging in another's case as we would in our own, activity of spirit, chearfulness of disposition, evenness of temper, unpassive compliance, readiness to please, and easiness to be pleased, and all the other virtues that contribute to the solid good, or innocent entertainment of life; which are not virtues

until grown into habits urging spontaneously to action without needing to dive for the reasons whereon they were grounded and rendering the exercises of them easy.

For ease and pleasure, as I have often said before, are the proper aims of pursuit, but then it is that ease which is the offspring of expertness not of laziness, and that pleasure which has the sanction of judgment. The wise and the foolish follow pleasure, though in different ways, for since it is not to be had without some trouble, the one chooses to make his payments before hand, to take pains for securing himself greater ease and enjoyment, like a good economist who going to market with ready money buys at the best hand and has his provisions the cheaper: whereas the giddy spendthrift who takes them up upon tick, never thinking of payment till sued for it, always gives more than they are worth, and is loaded with a bill of costs beside. This ease then which flows from habit is both our praise and our interest to desire, and consequently to cultivate the habits that will procure it.

Religious habits are best acquired, by the practice of religious exercises, by meditation, by occasional reflections as there is room for them, by the performance of good works, and by tracing our references to such as are not usually

usually styled good: and as it will be very easy to see the relation those other social and self-solacing virtues bear to our grand intention of glorifying God, by contributing to the happiness of his creatures, while we keep this relation in mind we shall strengthen our higher virtues in the very act of improving the lower; which are likewise to be cultivated by the same methods of reflection upon the benefits of them, and assiduity in the exercises of them. For assiduity will do more towards gaining a habit than labour and eagerness, the latter may be necessary in cases of difficulty to make a beginning, but the former must perfect it, as the spade and pickaxe may be serviceable to level hillocks in the road, but it is the continual beating that lays it smooth and even.

I do not deny that what strikes a strong impression upon the mind may possibly give it a holding turn that shall continue ever afterwards, as a distorted limb is sometimes set to rights by a violent stretch; and so a death-bed repentance may have the like effect upon the spiritual body as an habitual holiness, by forcing the joints of it into a suppleness that is ordinarily the produce of frequent applications: but it is very hazardous making such experiments, and therefore much safer to enter upon storing provision of salu-

tary habits while we have time before us for a gradual progress.

And that we may be able to make the best use of our time, it will be advisable to stand always upon the watch for opportunities of exercising them; for by accustoming ourselves so to do, we shall fall into another habit introductive of all the rest, I mean, that of quickness in discerning our advantages with their particular uses, and of ease and readiness in applying them thereto. We may likewise take the benefit of example and sympathy from the persons we converse amongst, instead of criticizing their dress, their faces, or their faults, we may observe what good habits they have, and their manner of proceeding in them, in order both to improve our judgment, and stimulate our industry in catching whatever is valuable from them; for this is an allowable theft, because it enriches the taker without endamaging the owner.

4. There is no living in the world without falling into habits, the world itself draws us into them insensibly by the objects it presents, and the ways of men bustling about in it, our natural wants and appetites and the activity of our imagination ever restless without something to engage the notice, lead us into them: many useful and necessary habits are gained this way; the idioms of speech, the management

nagement of our limbs, the common forms and modes of behaviour, most of our tastes and inclinations; and the compositions, associations or trains of ideas whereon knowledge and judgment depend, are but their customary uniting together in assemblages, or following successively in habitual tracks.

Since then we must have some habits or other, and they frequently grow awry to our great inconvenience and damage, it will be necessary to guard against evil habits, as well as to cultivate the good ones; for there is much less trouble in preventing than remedying a mischief, as it is easier to pick out weeds on their first sprouting, than after they have shot their clusters of roots deep into the ground: therefore this ought to be made a principal part of our self-examinations, to observe what unlucky customs are growing upon us, and to break them before they become inveterate.

Pleasures as well as toils and difficulties become indifferent by growing habitual, for the one lose their relish, and the other their irksomeness. The man who goes to plough every day, and he that drudges at cards every day, pass their time much in the same degree of satisfaction, which amounts to no more than a state of ease; but there is this very material difference between them, if you give

give the labourer a holiday, he throws away his tackle with joy, if you debar the man of pleasure from his customary amusements, he sits upon thorns till he can return to them again. This we may see exemplified every Sunday which proves a day of recreation to the one, but a lamentable burden to the other, under the weight of which he does not know what to do with himself, unless by the two potent arguments, a laugh and an exclamation, he can prove there is no harm in playing at cards on Sundays too: therefore if there were no other use in the observation of that day, there would be this, that it serves to break into our habits, thereby preventing them from gaining so entire an ascendant over us, that we can never live at rest without them.

For diversions, which were at first the object of genuine desire, by too frequent indulgence corrupt into wants, they then cease to delight when we have them, but only make us uneasy when we have them not: so they cheat mankind into a false estimation of their value by the eagerness perceived in the pursuit; but men will bestir themselves to escape uneasiness as eagerly as to hunt after enjoyment. Therefore those are the safer and more profitable habits, which inure us to labour, trouble, and difficulty in the prosecu-

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tion of our genuine desires, for they are not likely to get the mastery over us, nor become necessary to our peace, but only remove the impediment of irksomness lying in the way, bring us into greater expertness, and leave the thoughts more at leisure to contrive measures for accomplishing our designs.

5. As there are habits of acting so there are likewise those of apprehending, judging, and thinking; the former indeed proceed from the latter, for what the mind affects strongly, the hand will be ready to execute, but there are some customary trains the ideas are thrown into by objects occurring, and others they run in spontaneously without any thing external to occasion their motions. Those which lie in the reflection are hardest to be guarded against or to be cured, for imagination can rove upon her own fund, without needing any foreign materials to employ her; her wanderings lie under no control of other persons, because they cannot be known by them, they do not break forth in outward acts by which our senses might take alarm, so we practise them without knowing of it; they creep upon us insensibly, we think only to indulge a momentary pleasure till by frequent repetitions it grows into a habit rendering us incapable of entertaining any other subject whenever the

humour sets in for that. It is this way that vanity strikes its fibrous roots, that pride, ambition, covetousness, romantic schemes of pleasure and ruinous projects take so strong hold upon us; this foments revenge, and produces the delirious fondness of love. For there seems no harm in imagining things to be as we wish, it is an innocent amusement; and so indeed it would be, were the matter to end there; but when indulged till it creates a want, till we cannot be easy without it, nor content with any other amusement, it then becomes highly nocent, nor terminating with our own disquiet and torment, but sooner or later breaking into extravagant and pernicious actions.

Therefore it behoves us to watch over our imagination, and as soon as we perceive any such trains beginning to form there, to break them off before they grow into inveterate habits, by refusing ourselves that innocent amusement which would rivet them deeper: or if they have already taken hold, to loosen it as fast as possible, by avoiding such objects as are likely to foment them, and occupying our thoughts some other way. Any business, diversion or amusement that can keep the attention engaged elsewhere, is allowable in a case of this importance: for liberty is the perfection and happiness of man, and liberty

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of mind more so than that of body; but we shall never be freemen, until we can turn our thoughts as well as our hand which way we please without reluctance, difficulty, or obstacle.

6. But there are habits contracted by bad example or bad management, before we have judgment to discern their approaches, or because the eye of reason is laid asleep, or has not compass of view sufficient to look around on every quarter. The world on all sides assists the covert workings of vanity, entices into selfishness, indolence, and various kinds of pleasures: company sometimes draws unwarily into habits of drinking, swearing, over-delicacy, and dissipation. There are habits of misapprehension and misjudging common among all degrees of men; fretfulness, industrious to seek or even feign and chew upon matter that may nourish it; captiousness ingenious in perverting the meaning of words; partiality warping every thing to its own purpose; censoriousness unable to discern a bright part in characters; self-conceit averse to discern the real motives of acting; melancholy augurating always for the worst; besides many more, some of which I am afraid every man may find lurking in his own breast, if he will but look narrowly enough.

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In all these cases there is not a want of sagacity nor information to judge better, but the customary turn of imagination will admit no ray of light but such as coincides with it. Therefore where we are too late for prevention, we must be the more diligent in applying a cure, which is effected not only by a resolute restraint, but less painfully and perhaps more successfully, by stirring up some desire which may draw us off from our customary ways; especially where the fault lies in the imagination, for if you resolve to bear in mind that you will not think of such a particular thing, you make it the object of your reflection by so doing; therefore it is better, seek for other things you will resolve to think of, for then of course you will keep clear from that you would avoid.

But we must not desist from the application too soon, for though habit has not the force of passion, it is more tough and stubborn; when you think you have quite weakened its spring, it will recoil again with wonted vigour: like air kept condensed between two brazen hemispheres, which will not expand at first upon giving it vent, but very soon recovers all its former elasticity. The keeping our habits in order may serve for a good school of self-denial, wherein the lessons are easier than those of bearing pain, sickness,

sickness, losses, hardships and labours, besides that we but rarely have calls to those arduous exercises.

And I cannot help thinking, that if pious women, instead of humiliations and self afflictions, would set themselves in good earnest to pass a day without any motions of fretfulness, peevishness, censoriousness, dilatoriness in the business of their families, forebodings of mischief, lamentations upon the wicked world, or other infirmity that does so easily beset them, it would prove a more acceptable sacrifice, and a more profitable service.

But good habits will want rectifying sometimes as well as bad ones, for without warping into a wrong bias they may become improper by a change of circumstances, like children's cloaths out-grown before they are worn out. The man reduced from affluence by losses, must take up other thoughts and other measures than he was used to before: the attention to small profits and parsimony habitual to the trader must be thrown aside when by his elder brother's death he comes into possession of the fox hounds, and the tubs of election ale. The same ways are not suitable to the boy, the youth, and the old man, the new convert and the well-exercised in Religion, the learner, and the proficient

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in any art or science. Scarce a year passes but new connections, new engagements or accidents call upon us to depart from some of our former customs, and inure ourselves to new ones. Therefore we must always be learning, and always shaping our courses according to the several windings in our line of life: for it is a miserable thing for a man to have no employment for his thoughts, unless in hankering after practices that were reasonable for him afore-time though now become unfeasible and unsuitable.

CHAP. XXXII.

CREDULITY AND INCREDULITY.

I JOIN these two because they generally go together, one being a consequence of the other: for it is the strong attachment to particular persons that makes men averse against hearkening to others, and less attentive to mind what is said, than who said it. Nature made us extremely credulous in our infancy until the cautions learned from our parents and tutors have armed us with an inflexibility to whatever contradicts the principles imbibed

bibed from them, or if we become refractory to parents and tutors it is commonly owing to the suggestions of some seducer, to which we have given an easy reception: thus in both cases we disregard one person, only because another has gained our entire confidence.

But the terms of my present subject do not relate solely to the credit found with us by other persons, they extend likewise to all kinds of evidence presenting to the thought which are made to lose their just weight by the fondness we have for whatever they tend to invalidate: so that we become incredulous upon some points by being two credulous of others, for the same prejudice that draws down one scale must necessarily raise up the other. This truth stands exemplified in persons of all denominations: the bigot and the free-thinker, the orthodox and the sectary, the courtier and the patriot, the lover, the projector, and the schemist will receive whatever favours their humour upon the slightest evidence, and reject whatever thwarts it though coming with the strongest.

For there are three causes of the errors we commit, one the want of sufficient lights to inform our judgment or of sagacity to discern them: this may draw us into some present inconveniencies but cannot affect our

our main concern, the errors will be mere errors without carrying any thing blameable in them, they may excite pity or perhaps a smile, but can draw censure from none, except those, whose censure we may justly despise. Another is the want of resolution to execute what our judgment clearly discerns to be right: this is only to be excused by the imbecility of human nature, and where such excuse cannot be pleaded, is indeed a fatal error which we must strive to rectify by the exercises of self-denial and vigilance before recommended. The third is an unlucky custom we fall into of blinding the judgment by shutting out some of the lights that would flow in upon it, and magnifying others with the glass of eagerness to contemplate them; this though a fault of the Will is such a one as no man stands totally exempt from, for it proceeds often from secret motives which we are not aware of, nor is it easy to know when we ought to give our assent and when to withhold it, or when the scale hitches in the briars of prejudice; therefore it behoves us to be very attentive in looking about for such impediments, and careful to loosen them when discovered.

But it will be asked to what purpose we are exhorted to give, or withhold our assent? is not assent voluntary, the act of the objects before

before us, not of the mind? can any man with all his efforts dissent from the truth that two and two make four, or assent to their making five? All this is very true; nevertheless, though we cannot command assent, we may many times command the means that will infallibly work it: as a man cannot help reading the page he looks upon, nor see things otherwise than are there contained, yet he may shut the book or turn to any other page he pleases, and so choose what he shall see, although he be purely passive in the faculty of vision.

2. Assent belongs to propositions, and is an additional perception over and above those of the terms contained in them, commonly called an opinion or judgment; for though Thomas be taller than John, they may both stand before me, and I may have a full view of their persons, yet without observing which of them is the taller, that is, without framing any mental proposition concerning their height to which I may assent. And among the objects we are daily conversant with, there are a thousand judgments might be passed upon them which never come into our heads, nor indeed is it possible they should all find room there: therefore besides the power we have by our hands, our eyes, or our memory, to bring objects before

before us, we have likewise a choice of what propositions we shall form out of the materials in our reflection.

But our present subject stands concerned with such propositions only as occur spontaneously to our thoughts, or are suggested by other persons; yet even here we have a choice in what manner we shall receive them, whereon the assent they shall gain very frequently depends. For except in things very familiar to our acquaintance, where the judgment has been joined in association with the terms, it does not rise immediately upon inspection, but they must be held in contemplation some little time before it will follow; and as our ideas fluctuate for a while both in strength and colours, the determination will be very different according as taken from them in their highest or their lowest state. Therefore in all arguments whether occurring to the thought or suggested by another, a man must aid himself to come at the decision; by giving them a due consideration and waiting till the fluctuation ends.

The manner of proceeding herein is what I take to be understood by giving or withholding assent, which is done hastily or fairly according as you strive to fix a colour, while they are transient, or stay till they fix of themselves; for you neither can nor ought to give

give any other assent, than that which results naturally from the colours of your ideas. But the colour of our ideas is often affected by the mixture of others standing in company with them, therefore if you hold one set in your thoughts to the exclusion of all others, they may have a very different aspect from what they would, had you given those others admittance.

Thus assent may be wrongfully given or withheld two ways, either by a partial choice of the objects you will contemplate, or by fixing your judgment upon them at some particular moment during their fluctuation of colour; as a witness deposing positively to a fact will be credited if you refuse to hear other testimony by the weight of which he may be overborn, or may appear to prove a point if you stop him short as soon as he has related the circumstances tending to confirm it, without suffering him to proceed in the rest of his evidence which might make the contrary manifest.

This is innocently practised every day in that temporary persuasion we assume in reading a poem, a fable, or a novel, where we imagine incidents to be true while going on with the story, but whenever admitting our old ideas to return again into view, we presently know the whole to be a fiction. The

same is done in following the rule laid down by Tully for an Orator, that he should make his client's case his own: and that prescribed by Horace to such as would touch the passions, which he says they cannot do without putting on the very sentiments they would inspire. So likewise in study and deliberation it is often useful to imagine things for a while otherwise than they really are, for a false supposition may let in lights for our better discernment of the truth.

Yet there is some limitation to this power of temporary persuasion, for though one may imagine Fortunatus to possess a purse in which he shall always find ten guineas immediately after he has emptied it, yet we could not imagine him endued with a faculty of making twice ten guineas to be a hundred, or any other number he should want: and though we might fancy a Fairy causing a house to rise at once out of the ground with a stroke of her wand, or contract Paul's Church to the size of a pea, yet while continuing in its own dimensions we could never conceive her enclosing it within a nut-shell: which shows that we cannot create a new colour in our ideas or our appearances, but can only catch such as they take in their fluctuations by some similitude with things we have seen.

Therefore

Therefore Poetry whose province lies chiefly in fiction, nevertheless is restrained to probabilities, that is such things as imagination can suppose to be real: and for the same reason as we grow up we become less and less delighted with extravagant tales, because to children the common works of men appear conjuration and miracle, so that the marvellous and the preternatural is nothing strange to them, for they can always find something similar in their apprehension among the things they have seen.

3. By frequently supposing things true we may bring ourselves to believe them true, the temporary persuasion settling into a fixed one. This happens not so often in facts supposed already past, as in the expectation of similar events likely to fall out in the world. For though the probability of incidents required in fiction be no more than a possibility, yet it implies a possibility that the like may happen again, which being continually fed upon in the imagination, will turn into a high degree of probability.

Hence springs the mischief done to such as are much conversant in plays or novels, for having perpetually filled their head with ideas of Strephons and Phillises, they expect to find a faithful nymph or swain in whatever their fancy sets upon; the charming creature whose

beauteous form or engaging prattle strikes irresistibly must needs be possessed of all valuable perfections; the discovery of a Prince stolen away in his cradle, or the sudden death of a rich uncle, or some extraordinary chance that has happened in the world before, and so may happen again, may reconcile parents, set all to rights, and prove they have made a lucky choice, which will do full as well as if they had made a wise one.

Hence likewise the spirit of gaming, for luck may run on one side for a month together, and if it may why should it not? hence the fury of lotteries, for though the possibility of each ticket getting the great prize be no more than one in sixty thousand, yet by continual ruminating upon this little shrimp of a possibility, it is commonly swelled into a probability to be depended upon so far as to lay schemes for disposing of the produce.

For the most part we are led to dwell upon suppositions by the pleasure they give the imagination; therefore it is a common observation, that men easily believe what they wish to be true, for they first suppose it to be true as matter of entertainment, until by frequency of supposal it grows into a persuasion: for we can very seldom trace our judgments

judgments up to their first principles, therefore the character of truth they have used to bear in our thoughts is an evidence of their being true, and it is not easy to remember whether such character was affixed by a continual amusing supposition, or by solid conviction. In some tempers imagination takes the contrary turn, they ruminate constantly upon the things they dread, and always suppose the worst that may happen: this practice not only increases evils by drawing up their strongest colours, but likewise magnifies chances, raising a bare possibility into an imminent danger. Where either of these habits has been contracted, it is the hardest matter in the world to admit a supposal that does not tally with them: the sanguine man can scarce form an imagination of any thing that may cross his desires, nor the melancholy man of any thing that can give him comfort.

But this stiffness of the faculty is a main obstacle against our following the golden rule, wherein we must be aided by a readiness of supposing ourselves in the condition and circumstances of another; it contracts our notions by rendering us incapable of entering for a moment into others of a different kind: it makes every thing strange and absurd that we were not familiarly acquainted with before:

fore: and it retards our reasoning, which cannot effectually go on without giving opposite sentiments their turn to possess our imagination singly, until they come to their full colour before we set them in comparison with their antagonists.

Therefore it is a very valuable art, hard to be learned but well worth the pains of acquiring, to suspend our desires, our prepossessions, our customary trains and former judgments for so long as is requisite, and be able to fix our attention upon things the most opposite to them: for without this we shall never attain a perfect impartiality nor true freedom of thought, and if we could accomplish this, though we might still remain liable to involuntary mistakes, we should never more pass a faulty judgment. However, as such entire command over imagination is not to be gained, it behoves us to be constantly suspicious of inclination and prejudice, to observe which way they draw, to make allowances for their attraction, and even to stir up a partiality against them which may suffice to counterbalance their weight.

4. But it may be asked, is there not a presumption in favour of old opinions? This I never have denied, nor would have them called in question upon every slight objection suggested, nor even cast aside when questioned

questioned unless the opposite weights visibly preponderate; for while the balance hangs even, or keeps nodding to and fro, the presumption ought still to prevail. I do not pretend to lay down rules for directing when an examination ought to be entered upon, which perhaps might be impossible, at least is past my skill, therefore must be left to every man's discretion: I only say that when he does think fit to enter upon it, he cannot keep his imagination too open for receiving every consideration his own sagacity, or that of another person can suggest, and giving them room to expand with all the colours they are capable of exhibiting. During this operation the former judgments ought only to suspend their action, but not to lose their vigour, which will be wanted when they come to be called to mind again in order to make a fair comparison between them and their opponents.

For there is a defect in the faculty when it cannot distinguish between a supposition made to be examined into, and an approved truth, nor estimate the strength of opposite evidences confronted together in their full colours, nor can give fair play to one without its quite obscuring the other. Persons who labour under this infirmity are perpetually wavering, they have a hundred different opinions

opinions in a minute, or rather never have any opinion at all, but wander in a labyrinth of doubts without ever coming to a determination that they can confide in.

But some confidence in our judgment is absolutely necessary in time of action, for else it will be of no use to us, nor shall we ever proceed steadily and vigorously to compleat any design: and in seasons of deliberation it ought not to be parted with during the time of deliberating, nor until some decision be maturely formed upon which we may place the like confidence. For if a suggestion occurs that the measures I have resolved upon may be wrong, I shall still presume them right until fully satisfied of the contrary; and if the business requires immediate dispatch so that there is not time for obtaining such satisfaction, I shall pursue them without heeding the suggestion.

Nor is it needful the judgment should be founded on demonstration to deserve our confidence, for this is very rarely to be found by the human understanding upon matters of greatest importance in prudence and practice: therefore it is expedient to study the art of judging accurately upon probabilities; which where they can be clearly discerned, are a sufficient ground for confidence to remain with them, until new lights break in or

circumstances

circumstances alter, whereon a new judgment may be formed with the like accuracy. It is the vain expectation of absolute certainty that keeps men continually wavering and irresolute, for being afraid of trusting to any thing that has not such certainty, and being able to find it nowhere, they live in a round of doubts, without settling upon any one point: but some courage as well as caution is requisite to secure a freedom of thought, and open a passage to proficiency in any science.

But you must not always take people at their word when they talk much of doubting, for this language is often used as a civiller way of contradicting than telling you bluntly that you are in an error, which they would be ready enough to do if they were not afraid of putting you out of humour. If you observe those people who pretend to be fullest of doubts you will find them most fond of that positive phrase, I will venture to say, and they employ both expressions with equal propriety, for as they never doubt of a thing without being perfectly sure it is false, so they never venture to say, unless when confident they run no hazard of being confuted.

I am apt to think there never yet has really been such a monster in the world as a thorough sceptic; but he that doubts of what is agreed

agreed to by every body else, does it upon being fully possessed of notions that never found admittance in any other head: and there is an air of positiveness in all scepticism, an unreserved confidence in the strength of those arguments that are alleged to overthrow all the knowledge of mankind.

5. Thus partial judgment springs from a feebleness either to retain former decisions in their original vigour, or to give due consideration to matters opposite to them; the one renders us credulous and the other incredulous. This weakness being natural can never be totally cured, but may be helped by good management, therefore the blame lies in not applying our diligence to work as much amendment as is feasible.

The first care should be to make our decisions maturely, for it is common through mere laziness to take them up in haste before they are half formed, and then there always remains a latent suspicion which renders them unable to maintain their ground against any specious opposition: but where there is a consciousness of the best information possible having been taken, it fixes their colours beyond hazard of being faded by the approach of other objects. Then with respect to such of them as are of importance in our conduct or our future reasonings, the next point is to habituate

habituate the imagination to cast them up spontaneously with the same lively vigour wherein they were delivered to her by the understanding, which is what I have called turning conviction into persuasion. By this means we shall become less credulous of other persons, of the suggestions of passion and fancy, or appearances of the senses.

For avoiding the other extreme it will be expedient to bear in mind that our surest decisions may possibly have deceived us, for there is nothing so certain as that we know nothing with infallible certainty: in the next place to accustom ourselves to observe and examine upon a fair opportunity offering, and acquire a readiness to depart from old notions upon cogent reasons: I know such practice may sometimes endanger the simple being imposed upon by artful persons, but there is something lying within the sphere of every ones observervation, and if he does not exercise himself therein he can never learn, because all learning implies some alteration of the judgment: for a sense of our ignorance and an aptness to learn upon information suited to our capacity I take to be the two best preservatives against incredulity. But it will be needful to stand always upon the guard against passion, inclination,

nation, and every habitual bias, for they will bring on a distempered weakness upon the faculties more hurtful than the natural; and I conceive it is in the freedom from those, in an exemption from tenaciousness of old notions and fondness for new ones, that sound judgment and discretion consist.

CHAP. XXXIII.

EMPLOYMENT OF TIME.

To know the sources of our enjoyments, what things are good and useful for us, and to acquire an habitual diligence in procuring them, are certainly very valuable attainments, because they supply us with aims and desires which strike the brightest colours of our lives; but something further is wanting to fill up the spaces between, and make the whole an entire piece. For our desires do not always find fuel to feed on, materials and opportunities are not always to be had for carrying on our pursuits, and when they are ended, the joy of having gained our point can entertain us but a little while, ere we want fresh matter to engage us. The busy mind of man

man cannot rest in a state of indifference, if it has not satisfaction it will fall into uneasiness, and every fleeting moment must have its distinct portion of one or the other: it avails nothing to me now, how much I was delighted an hour ago, or shall be delighted an hour hence, without some present reflection on the future, or some different object to engage in the interval.

Therefore I have laid down, that intense pleasures are not so valuable as generally apprehended, unless when they give scope for a length of agreeable pursuit, or furnish materials to the imagination and briskness to the spirits for our better entertainment afterwards, because else the benefit we receive from them lies shut up within a very small compass of time: but happiness must be computed upon the whole balance of pleasures and pains compared together, so that great delights with large vacuities of uneasiness between, may still leave the condition miserable.

Hence appears that the true secret of happiness lies in contriving to be continually pleased rather than highly pleased, and this is best effected by providing constant employment for our time; for so long as the thoughts are employed in any thing just sufficient to engage their attention, the mind is satisfied,

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it is only when there is a stoppage of motion, when there is nothing more desirable to be done than omitted, when under some pain or want without means discerned on any side to do something for removing them, that the time passes irksome and heavy: for things insipid are always displeasing as well to the mental taste as to the palate.

The world commonly seek for engagement of their thoughts from external objects circles of pleasures and amusing ideas suggested to their imagination; all these may do very well while there flows in an uninterrupted supply of them, and so long as they continue really engaging: but the misfortune is they are not always to be had, or they quickly cloy, and then recourse must he had to some new fancy, until having exhausted all their tastes, novelty itself becomes nothing new, and variety grows a stale expedient, unable any longer to force a relish.

One may see how lamely this method of employment answers its purpose by the great dilatoriness there is in going to engagements by which means they have been put off later and later, until our hours of amusement are almost run into midnight. Whereas where there is an expectation of real delight, people are eager to run to the place beforehand, instead of which they do not care to think of one

one indulgence until another is grown wearisome; they rise, because tired of lying a bed, they come home to dinner because tired of sauntering about, for while any little trifle amuses, they care not how long dinner waits, and do not go abroad until driven by the irksomeness of not knowing what to do with themselves at home: it is ridiculous to see how many shifts are made to kill time, as it is called, and how lucky it is thought when such can be found; so that one may say, they are perpetually upon the hunt for engagement, but very rarely catch it, or are actually engaged.

Therefore business and those preparations of pleasure which partake of the nature of business, as requiring long contrivance and application, are more productive of engagement than pleasure itself; for there the active powers are employed as well as the passive, but what depends upon our own activity is much less precarious than what we receive from other causes. Therefore we may presume, that God has placed the far greater part of mankind under a necessity of working in some way or other, and subjected the rest to their portion of care, contrivance, and application, because he sees with other eyes than we do, and may know those are the

happiest

happiest parts of life which appear burdensome to us.

He that plies to his business finds it, when grown familiar to him, a state of satisfaction, his mind is wholly intent upon it, it is only in the vacancies of attention thereto that he ever thinks or feels a want of the advantages possessed by others above him, he returns regularly to his work without staying till tired of what he had been doing before, and leaves off, not because satiated, but because his time or his tale is ended, he receives a solace from seeing the progress made as he goes along, and rises from labour with refreshed organs to find a relish in any passive engagements that may fall in his way: nor is it the least distinguishing mark of difference between the civilized and the savage, that the one spend their days in idleness and gaping, unless while fighting with man or beast, whereas the others have a multitude of employments to busy themselves upon. Even pain and disappointment have their uses in finding employment to guard against them: a total disengagement with an utter inability of finding any, is more likely to make men weary of their Being than hurts and vexations; for we may see persons grievously oppressed with them desirous enough to live,

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nor do they ever become otherwise until there appears nothing to be done for removing them; whence it is become an expression of the heaviest complaint to say, I am so ill I do not know what to do, which implies that so long as we know what to do, things are not at the worst.

Men are ready to own that what comes to them by the choice of their Will is more likely to please than what comes from another quarter, but they do not consider that the Will is generally more active in business, than in pleasure. It may be true indeed that people seldom work unless when they cannot help it, and the very essence of business seems to lie in its being no matter of choice but something that must be done; for else if what is done might have been omitted without any inconvenience, we count it done for amusement. But then the compulsion lasts no longer than to drive us to our task; when entered upon it all the steps taken in the performance are severally the choice of the Will preferring those that are proper before others that would tend nothing towards compleating the design: whereas in pleasures of indolence, there is only one choice made of a general indulgence, and the Will has nothing more to do afterwards than to keep the senses agape for receiving

whatever agreeable objects shall happen to present.

3. Therefore active pleasures wherein there is something continually to be done for carrying them on, are the most valuable, because approaching nearest to business and furnishing employment together with objects of delight, nor are they apt to satiate even when they weary: but satiety is worse than weariness, because it does not give that relish to the bare removal of objects one is cloyed with, as is found in rest after a fatigue.

Persons who stand exempt by their situation in life from the necessity of application to any thing, yet find another necessity obliging them to it for employment of their time, without which they would be left in a worse condition than those whom they despise. So that if they have not business supplied them by the acquisition of some art or science, by the management of their estates, by some useful service to be done the public, their friends, their neighbours, or themselves, they must create business by an attachment to some fanciful scheme, or innocent undertaking. Building a fine house, laying out an elegant garden, making a collection of butterflies, working a carpet, picking up curious pieces of China at auctions, serve to make a gentleman or lady, while

earnest

earnest in the prosecution, just as happy as a carpenter is when sawing his boards, or a seamstress when stitching her linen: for they are alike intent upon their work, they think of nothing else, want nothing, and regret nothing, and so long are in a state of enjoyment.

This use I have already found in my Chapters, for if they shall do no benefit to any body else, they have been of benefit to me, by keeping me engaged for many hours which, otherwise might have passed vacant and irksome: nor am I solicitous to prove my engagement more delectable than that of the carpenter sawing his boards, or the commoner pushing his interest for a title, or a fine lady assiduous at her routs; for I wish to pass as much of my time as possible with a satisfied mind, but care not how many others pass theirs as well satisfied, the greater numbers of them can be found I esteem it the more for my interest, for reasons formerly mentioned and needless here to repeat.

Nevertheless, as there is no benefit to be reaped in this world but what is attended with some inconveniencies, I have sometimes had it hinted, that this engagement of mine draws me off from more obligatory engagements; whether this be so I cannot tell, being no judge of the several degrees of importance among them, nor am I sure

that my monitors speak upon full cognisance and mature deliberation of the cause, therefore do not look upon the point as compleatly settled. However, there is a caution necessary to be taken, that no particular attachment be suffered to swallow up all our other desires, or take out all the relish we used to find in the objects of them; for then there is a hazard it may lose its own, and we shall not so much follow, as be driven into it by not knowing what to do with ourselves: or if that does not happen it will often corrupt into a want, for whenever called off to other necessary offices, we shall walk upon tenters while they detain us, and be continually wanting to return to the favourite employment again.

But it conduces greatly to a happy life to have as many desires and as few wants as possible: for desire makes work engaging and thereby quickens the active powers, but want, which is always of something that cannot be had, hangs as a dead weight upon our activity; it opens no career to the thing we want, it disengages from the business before us, and turns whatever is necessary to be done into a toil and a trouble. Wherefore it is well worth while to take care, that our desires hang loose upon us, so as readily to give place to one another, according as judg-

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ment and occasion shall require: for by this means we shall preserve our freedom, nor be run away with by any of them against our will. And if we can store up a great variety we shall oftener meet with opportunities of gratifying one or other of them, nor scarce ever be reduced to have absolutely nothing to do, which is the most uneasy situation imaginable.

4. Yet variety sometimes creates confusion, if it be not gathered with a proper choice, or not disposed in some regularity of order. I have elsewhere offered what occurred concerning the selection of desires for their usefulness: I am here only to guard against vacuities of disengagement, that may be occasioned by ill management amongst them. Too great a multiplicity might crowd them so fast together, that none could find an issue; but this is rarely the case, for people are more prone to set their hearts upon one or two fancies to the exclusion of all others.

But sometimes they fix upon too great undertakings above their forces to achieve, or so laborious as to exhaust the strength and spirits before the work can be compleated: in those cases disappointment must ensue, which is a species of want, and as such always causes a stagnation of activity.

I know that laborious exercises whether of body

body or mind are very engaging where they engage at all, because there must be a strong desire to bring us into them: the fatigues of hunting or other sports of the field, the toils of ambition, and turmoils of avarice are often very great, and there are some services of virtue that require a painful application of all the powers to perform them well. No doubt there are reasons of duty, of necessity, of expedience, sometimes urging to works of strong exertion liable to frequent hazards of disappointment, but in contriving to have sources of constant employment the point of aim is rather to be always engaged, than deeply engaged. For the exhortations to patience of labour and pain are not intended to multiply them upon us as being either desirable, or laudable in themselves, but to enable us to bear them without being disconcerted so as never to drop an engagement we had chosen to enter upon, because of the obstacles they throw in the way: neither does industry so much consist in labour, as in a perpetual activity of mind never to be stopped nor turned out of any course by the irksomeness of it: to deserve the denomination of a diligent man, one need not always be taking pains, it is enough if one is able to do it whenever expedient, and whenever one will.

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In order then to manage matters for the best advantage, it will be convenient to take a survey of our desires, our powers, and the materials we have to exercise them upon, to form a regular plan of conduct containing some principal aims and others occasional, the whole accommodated to our situation in life; to take care we harbour no incompatible desires, but part with such as are inconvenient, and nourish up others which there are frequent opportunities of gratifying, for it is a pity we should lose any fund of engagement in our power for want of a relish to make it agreeable.

But desires not naturally incompatible may become so by accident, therefore care is requisite to lay out our engagements in such manner as that they may not interfere, and since this cannot be fully provided against beforehand, to acquire a facility in stopping that desire which the present judgment, shall pronounce least expedient. Persons who lead a life of dissipation, seldom knowing one hour what they shall do the next, meet with many tedious vacuities wherein they have absolutely nothing to do; to prevent this it will be expedient to have a scheme of employment for every hour of the day, and every season of the year, and every circumstance among those that ordinarily

narily surround us: the necessities of nature draw some of the principal lines in the stated meals and times of rest, wherein the more regular we can be, the better; trades and professions of all kinds add more in the certain hours of attendance to the business of them; and where those sources fail, it is observable how apt men are to run into clubs, parties of pleasure, rounds of visits, and particular customs of disposing of themselves: for there is no finding a constant course for our activity without providing channels for it to run in.

But all rules whose aim is only to keep the hands employed ought not to be made inviolable laws like those of the Medes and Persians, for then they generate a stiffness and preciseness which does more mischief than benefit, rendering men troublesome and uncompliant, defective in services that might be expected from them, and unattentive to their own advantages when lying out of the usual road.

The use of those rules is only to lie ready in reserve, that we may never be at a loss what to do with ourselves, to supply us with business when none offers, not to stand in the way of it; they defeat their own intention unless they can give place without reluctance to whatever other engagements we are called

to

to by the rules of duty, or prudence, or civility, or even to such amusements as the fancy strongly recommends, and the judgment does not disapprove.

5. Religion, according as it is understood, will prove either the greatest promoter or the greatest destroyer of engagement that can be found. While placed in obligation, servile fear and perfunctory assiduities to forms and ceremonies, how much soever it may take up of the time, it cannot with propriety be said to engage; for engaging is many times synonymous with charming or delightful, as when applied to a beauty, a dress, a behaviour, a tale, a diversion; and though a man may say he was engaged in a business which was not agreeable to him, yet this is upon a supposition that while intent upon it his procedure in the several steps taken therein was voluntary upon a prospect of some advantage, for where the whole action is manifestly reluctant, as in appearing upon a recognisance the first day of term, we do not use the word engaged but obliged.

Nor is that word applied to every thing that draws the attention unless there be a free consent of the Will to give it, for a man who would excuse himself for failing at a meeting, will hardly say he was engaged at home by a violent tooth-ach, though perhaps the pain engrossed

engrossed his whole attention, and he was busied all the while in applying warm flannels, or toasted figs, or other remedies for assuaging it. So he that sings psalms every third hour, or goes to Church every week day because necessary to secure him from the Devil's clutches, or because he thinks the holy Spirit would be grieved and God made uneasy by being slighted, does it only to remove a pressing dread and anxiety, with a forced, not a free consent of the Will, and for the most part is so far from being intent upon his work, that his thoughts run a hankering all the while after something else; or if they do enter upon it by choice, it is like that made of their cards by such as drudge at them every day, namely, to relieve themselves from the insupportable burden of having absolutely nothing to do by having contracted a tastelessness for every thing else.

But these painful assiduities, the task of fear or custom, like the dog in the manger, not only afford no engagement themselves, but stand in the way of other innocent and useful engagements that might keep up a voluntary attention during the performance without drawing on any damage, or leaving any remorse in the reflection behind.

On the other hand, when Religion is understood to be a profitable thing, and that judgment

ment grown into an habituate intimate persuasion branching into the three spiritual virtues, by which means every part of it will be pursued as a step to our truest interest without thought of obligation or of the Devil, whom one would wish to deal with as little as possible, it is then more fertile of real engagement than any other scheme we can propose. For ambition, avarice, and all the ruling passions that give life to the business of mankind, meet with frequent rubs and disappointments, many gaps of time pass insipidly wherein there is nothing to be done for advancing their purpose, and they are sometimes wrested from us by age, infirmity, disease, or satiety.

Whereas he who takes for his aim to do all things for the Glory of God manifested in the good and perfection of the human species, whereon his own happiness depends for ages to come, has an object the most engaging he could have chosen for his pursuit, being the amassing of treasures in a place where neither moth nor rust do corrupt, where thieves do not break through and steal, which will continue to engage in old age, in sickness, in distress, in all situations of life, and even in the hour of death; and which, so far as he can trace his reference to the common occurrences of his station, will leave no gaps nor intermissions

intermissions of employment: for there is always some use to be made of his activity either upon the ideas of the mind or motions of the body, there is a right and a wrong in every action; so that his industry can never want a subject to exercise itself upon in observing and practising that, which is right according to the circumstances of every occasion that offers.

CHAP. XXXIV.

CONTENT.

PRUDENCE and virtue for the most part consist in preferring greater enjoyment to come, before present gratification; the contest between them and appetite being whether we shall be most pleased, or soonest pleased; for pleasure is the object of both, only appetite urges to that which may be had now, and prudence chooses that which is the greatest, whether to be taken now, or not till to-morrow.

But upon the article of content the struggle seems to be of a quite different kind, both parties pulling the very contrary way from what they used in all other cases. Reason exhorts us to rest easy under our present situation, and suspend our desires until the time

time shall come when they may find materials of gratification: passion and evil habit solicit us to fret and vex and torment ourselves in present, with the tantalizing imagination of ease or pleasures at a distance lying out of our reach, or to make the most of an uneasiness by studiously aggravating all the grievous circumstances attending it. For the endeavours used to quiet the mind have for their object the present moment, to lighten the pressure actually hanging upon it, they have no respect to the future, nor purpose to accomplish beyond their immediate effects, for it may be all one to-morrow whether we have borne our troubles easily or reluctantly to day.

On the other hand, the impulses of discontent drive us upon the thorns every current moment, through a perverse kind of prudence, under an apprehension hard to be accounted for of some benefit to redound therefrom. Discontent is a species of grief, which I have remarked upon that article in the chapter on the passions, we are led into by having experienced that an attentive reflection upon the object that troubles us sometimes discovers a way to remove it, and excites to more strenuous endeavours for throwing it of: the apprehension of this benefit frequently entertained, gives an habitual bent to the reflection, which is continually turned that way by a mechanical impulse

impulse very difficult to be overpowered by the utmost strength of resolution.

But there is another cause insensibly draws the will to indulge a greater discontent than would be cast up by the mechanical springs of passion: as we live in society where we frequently stand in need of other people's assistance to relieve us from our distresses, and find them generally disposed to help us, we very soon observe that their eagerness to offer relief rises in proportion to the height of the distress; from hence we learn the artifice of oppressing ourselves as much as possible, that we may become the greater objects of compassion and have others fly the faster to our aid. Therefore grief and discontent generally abound in complaints, which though sometimes a little easing them, more frequently double their pressure and strike their roots deeper into the mind.

Therefore likewise children who have been fondled by their parents, and persons who have been much humoured in their way, most commonly grow fretful upon every little disappointment; whereas such as have been always forced to bustle for themselves, and nobody cared a farthing whether they were pleased or angry, bear with troubles the best, for they feel only the immediate pressure, and are so far from drawing it down with additional force by reflection, that they oftener

oftener want the sensibility requisite for putting them upon a proper guard against the like evils for the future.

Nevertheless this, which was artifice and low cunning at first, having by long practice given a turn to the wheels of the machine, becomes involuntary habitude or spontaneous impulse; and then men cannot help fretting inwardly or by themselves where it can do no good, nor even murmuring against Providence, repining at the hardness of their lot, or ruminating upon the cruelty of their fate, all which powers have no passions to be touched with their complaints.

2. One would think there should need no exhortations with men to bestir themselves for their own present ease, nor arguments to persuade them they are then most secure when having their security in their own hands; for though we can never make ourselves wholly independent on one another, and therefore it is prudent to apply the proper means for obtaining succour in our needs, yet the less we stand in need of succour, the more we can help ourselves, the better; because no aid lies so certainly under our command as that of our own resolution; besides that many of the grievances men vex at, are not of a nature to be relieved by any external application whatsoever, and the tender-

tenderness shewn to them does but aggravate their vexation by the influence of sympathy.

But men are so fond of indolence that they will not take a little trouble for their own immediate relief, or the force of habit is so great that even the present smart of the thorns it drives them upon, cannot overcome it, which is the more extraordinary because in avoiding the thorns they would fall into a flowery path and so obtain actual pleasure by escaping pain. For though content be in itself nothing more than a negation of uneasiness, yet satisfaction and uneasiness constantly follow so close upon each other, that the moment one disappears, its place is occupied by the other, nor is the mind ever without some degree of either, unless when asleep, and that it is so then is more than any man can demonstrate.

Content when obtained by our own efforts is a deliverance from vexation: but there is a joy in the bare deliverance from evil, a joy in finding ourselves able to throw it off, a complacence and solacing self-approbation in having used our power well for our own benefit: therefore in common language a contented temper is understood to imply a cheerful or a happy temper. On the other hand, discontent always carries with it a want to get rid of the object it feeds upon; but

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any gnawing want banishes all desires out of the thoughts which might find present means of gratification, the bitter of it giving a tastelessness to every thing else: so there needs only to forbear chewing the want of restoring our relish and putting us into a state of real enjoyment, for when that is gone out of the thoughts, there will be little desires enough ready at hand to engage our activity in something or other that shall make the time pass agreeably.

It is true that wants must sometimes be encouraged, as being necessary upon particular occasions; for we have not always skill or strength enough to raise desires sufficient to carry us on to our remote advantages, in which case we must submit to drudge for them through the thorny paths of uneasiness.

Therefore fear and obligation have their seasons and their subjects wherein there is need enough of them for driving those who cannot be led: compunction, vexation, and remorse at having done amiss are generally the harbingers of virtue, for where there is no love of rectitude you must plough and harrow and tear up the ground to prepare for its reception by a shame and abhorrence of vice; and where there is but little reflection you must engage it first by raising a quick sensibility of mischiefs befalling, or dangers impending; thus making men uneasy and

discontented with their present situation in order to put them upon exerting their endeavours to amend it; and when any long or laborious work is to be undertaken, it is difficult to raise such a fervency of desire as may be necessary to carry us through, but that upon rubs or disappointments it will sometimes degenerate into a want. But then in all these cases where we run ourselves upon uneasiness or the danger of it, we ought always to know what we do, to have the consent of our calm judgment upon the necessity or expedience of the thing, to make it our own voluntary act, but never submit to be dragged along by impulse of passion or importunity of habit.

3. Therefore it will be expedient, so far as is feasible, to keep the eye of understanding perpetually open, to watch the little motions of our ideas, and observe whether they proceed from mere mechanical impulse, or whether they can answer the end proposed in them: for this is the most likely means to prevent an evil habit from taking root, and to wear it off again when unhappily contracted.

For habits steal insensibly upon us before we are aware, and this of discontent has many causes contributing to its growth: the folly of servants and indiscretion of parents sow the seeds of it in our childhood, and

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when we come out into the world there are examples around us more than enow to cherish their growth: the godly fret at the profaneness and licentiousness of mankind, at the prosperities of the wicked, at their own want of more than human strength to perform punctually all the rigorous tasks they have enjoined themselves; the poor fret at being subjected to labour, the rich at losing opportunities of growing richer, the proud at having their tribute of homage withheld, the accomplished at the want of due encouragement to merit; the connoisseur in music, if one may use the cathachresis, delights to make himself miserable on hearing any thing that is not Italian, the elegant on seeing things vulgar and out of taste about them. In short how amply soever we are provided with materials of enjoyment, there is something still, as Prior says, for books, for horses, houses, painting; to thee, to me, to him is wanting: That cruel something unpossest, corrodes and poisons all the rest.

Especially in these countries, whether from the gloominess of our climate, the plenty of fresh meats, or the wantonness of liberty, there is more discontent and less ground for it, than in most nations upon earth. The spirit of censoriousness, criticism, detraction and calumny, make us

torment ourselves to plague one another, and many times without that effect by vilifying in secret those who cannot suffer thereby, because they will never know of it; but a man cannot be pleased within himself, when displeased with his company, nor while ruminating upon odious objects. Since then we live in such an infectious air and must perpetually run hazards of catching this distemper of the mind, which many times generates a similar distemperature of the bodily humours, it behoves us to stand upon our guard against the contagion, and keep our minds in tranquillity whatever turbulence we see boiling around us, resolved never to part with our present ease, unless upon security of some future good to be had in exchange: for enjoyment is the treasure that makes every thing relative to it valuable, therefore it is a folly to give up one's pleasures without a reasonable prospect of greater pleasures to be purchased by the sacrifice.

It may be expedient sometimes to censure and complain heavily as an engine to work upon the passions of other people, but he is an unskilful manager who is catched in his own artifices; he is like an unlucky boy that snatches the coachman's whip, and whips out his own eyes in going to lash the horses. And thongh Tully and Horace have admonished

nished their orator and poet to be vexed and grieved themselves if they would excite compassion and vexation in the audience, yet there is a wide difference between an assumed sentiment the effect of judgment, and a spontaneous emotion the impulse of habit; therefore we must learn, like the orator and poet, to raise a temporary passion to such degree and continuance as is requisite, and to throw it aside again as soon as the business is over; for this seems to be the last perfection of a well-disciplined imagination.

4. But if we find any symptoms of the splenetic disease in our temper (as who is there who may not find them if he watches carefully for their appearance?) it will be a useful application of our industry to resist their convulsions whenever we perceive them, taking care we be not discontented at being unable to quiet our discontent upon the first efforts, for this would deter us from returning to the charge again. But habit is not to be worn off presently, for as it gathered strength by repeated acts so it can only be weakened by a continuity of repeated resistances; therefore diligence will do more upon it than strength, and a calm, steady resolution will prove better effectual than violent exertion.

The point of aim for our vigilance to hold in view is to keep judgment constantly upon her

her seat, to preserve an even, steady temper, unruffled by difficulties, untransported by allurements; to dwell upon the brightest parts in every prospect, to call off the thoughts when running upon disagreeable objects, and strive to be pleased with the present circumstances surrounding us. We may practise this first in little matters such as occur within the compass of every day, when called away from a pursuit we are earnest upon, whether writing chapters or sonnets, whether singing a third-hour hymn, or reading a novel, or finishing a head dress? when obliged to sit in humdrum company, or wait for the fifth head of a tedious, heavy sermon, when reduced to coarse fare and bad accommodations at an inn, or having wandered out of our way upon a journey, when forced upon a business we do not like, or debarred a pleasure we had promised ourselves a long while. For by maintaining our serenity and composure in these lesser trials we shall wean our minds from an attachment to humour, break the force of habit, and prepare ourselves for patience in labours, pains, and distresses.

And the consideration of these consequences may encourage us to put in use the means for obtaining them, for nothing happens to us in vain, though we may not always

ways find out its significancy; but we may look upon those exercises as easy lessons set us in indulgence to our weakness, to fit us for learning the harder whenever summoned to them, and bring us to a pliancy of attention ready to turn suddenly to any new matter as occasion shall require, and enter fully into every present business without anxiety or reluctance: let us then apply to our easy exercises of which we may continually have store, for we shall reap a benefit from them though we should never be called up to the harder.

For this will forward us on our progress in learning the art of forbearance as well as of endurance, because pleasures enslave by the uneasy want they raise of themselves upon being denied; how delightful soever a pleasure may be while enjoyed, yet if a man does not want it, if he can content himself without it, he will always have the free use of his judgment either to gratify or forbear; for though actual pleasure may lull the eye of reason asleep by totally occupying the thoughts, it is the uneasiness of a craving appetite that drives headlong into wilful excesses. And by a facility of entering fully into any employment before him he may elude the importunity of habit, which is easily resisted for a little while till at last it frets and teases into a compliance, but when the attention is strongly

strongly diverted to something else, there is not room for the solicitations of habit to intrude.

A calm and unruffled mind quickens the dispatch of business, as it lies more open to discern the means of extricating ourselves from a disagreeable situation, and employs the whole stream of activity to the best advantage: whereas vexation or discontent clog and divide the thoughts and the forces, wasting more than half of both in unprofitable emotions, they are like convulsions in the legs which make a violent kicking about without gaining a step forwards.

Nor do they unfrequently defeat the very purpose originally proposed by them, for though mankind are generally helpful in proportion to the expressions of distress, we shall sometimes meet with spiteful or artful people who will have their ends in making us vex as much as they can: the best honest revenge we can take upon the one, and best caution against the other, will be to bear their utmost provocations unmoved.

A command of temper is absolutely necessary for a politician, an orator, an ambassador, and a general; nor can a man engage in a law-suit prudently, nor maintain an argument soundly, nor scarce transact any business of importance safely without it. But it is too late to stand whetting the sword when

when the moment of action is come; therefore we must inure ourselves early to the work, or vexation and discontent will force in upon us in spite of all our resolution, which will only make us vex the more at its weakness.

5. Nevertheless there is a spurious content which is the child of indolence, when men acquiesce in the present condition of things as happening to fall out, because they do not care for the trouble of mending them; so they stifle a rising desire that would stimulate to some great advantage lest it should cost them pains in the acquisition. But this is making havoc of appetite instead of correcting it, it is plucking up the corn together with the weeds: for when our desires are gone, our ease will become insensibility, if we have no pains neither will there be any pleasures nor activity to procure what is good and profitable.

Genuine content lies in the absence of wants, not of desires; for it is one principal branch of it to be content to labour whenever there is a good reason or upon prospect of something desirable to be earned thereby, which disposition will be aided by a noble ardor taking off the weight of difficulties, so that they may not fret upon the shoulders. A man may rest perfectly satisfied with his present situation without being

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a whit the more remiss whenever a fair opportunity offers of exchanging it for a better, nor is tranquillity of mind at all incompatible with industry: but that is vicious content, which stands as a bar against improvement, for though it be commendable to consult our present ease we must not so consult the present as to neglect the future, but apply our cares to either as prudence shall direct. Acquiescence, like all other sentiments ought to lie as much as possible under control of the judgment, and depend as little as possible upon mere habit or the impulse of mechanical springs, to be made an act of the will choosing by the lights of understanding, and the principal habit governing all the rest ought to be that of readiness in the imagination, to take the ply that discretion would give her.

For with good management we may make an excellent use of the power given us over the ideas in our imagination, to shut out some and dwell upon others, to join, to separate or compare them, to brighten or fade their colours: by this means we may often stir up a desire, or stop it when corrupting into a want, raise a temporary persuasion for our present use or solace, excite a fervid earnestness when needful, and calm it again when the completion of its purpose or a change

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of circumstances render it fruitless or hurtful.

But the misfortune is that men choose to be passive even in their activity, being driven by some favourite error or fond passion to exert the power over their ideas in shutting out such as would thwart them, and encourage such as confirm them: like the fox in the fable, who cried down the grapes for sour because he could not reach them. If his passion really blinded his judgment so as to put him out of conceit of grapes ever after, he was a beast indeed: but as Esop's beasts are generally men, I should rather suppose it was an honest artifice to stop the discontent rising upon his disappointment; and if this were the case, it was a pattern worthy our imitation.

For every method deserves our practising that may inure us to tranquillity without lessening our industry or abating our discretion: but the happiest temper of mind, if it could be acquired, is that of being never contented with our condition when a feasible means occurs of improving it in any respect, and never discontented with a pressure we cannot help, or that cannot be removed without imprudence.

CHAP. XXXV.

RULE, CUSTOM, AND FASHION.

AS much as we may affect to define Man a reasonable creature, daily experience will manifest to him that observes it attentively, that reason has a very small share in our motions: it can only direct some of the principal of them, but the intermediate spaces are occupied by trains of ideas and impulses rising mechanically in our imagination: and it iswell if the principal be directed by reason, for the further we can extend its authority so much the happier for us; but with all our diligence we can never make it compleat, but the machine will still retain a greater influence upon our conduct than we can gain for ourselves. For we many times enter upon courses of action unthinkingly, and in the prosecution of them proceed scarce with any consciousness of the minute steps we take; if reflection does plainly mark out our path we do not always follow it, being hurried a quite contrary way by the impetuosity of passion or fondness of desire; and when best disposed to take the benefit of our understanding, it proves but an imperfect guide.

guide. For the proper goal for reason to lead us to, is the greater good; or balance of enjoyment to result from all the consequences of an action; but these it is seldom quick-sighted enough to discern, so as to make a fair computation among them.

This being our constitution, it is in vain to think of setting our understanding to lead the active powers continually by the hand, or expect to hold in contemplation the whole expedience of every measure we take; the exercises of that faculty are best bestowed in habituating the internal wheels of the machine to run spontaneously in such trains as appear most eligible when the lights of reason shine clearest, or the eye of Contemplation has the fullest, distinctest prospect in view; and in storing up rules, maxims, and judgments in the memory, which may serve occasionally for immediate direction in shaping our conduct.

For in time of action we have not leisure to examine the expedience of things, we should make no dispatch among them if we were to go about it, but must follow implicitly the rule resolved on, or the judgment occurring; besides that, what reflection we are masters of is little enough to guide us in making application of them to the particular circumstances before us: so that when we act

act most rationally we cannot so properly be said to know why, as to remember that we formerly did know, nor do we march immediately under the banner of reason, but under the leading of those subaltern impulses which she has chosen for our governors.

Since then this is the case with men of the best natural and improved understandings, what can be expected from the bulk of mankind who want capacity or leisure to trace the long and intricate line of expedience? to tell them of a perpetual dependence upon their reason is the same as bidding them be different creatures than they were made: they must have a clue put into their hands by which they may find their goal without knowing where it lies, for their goal is happiness, but their clue will sometimes lead into labour, trouble, and uneasiness, a road by which they little think to find it: and it behoves every man so far as he is able, to lend a helping hand towards spinning the clue. For we were neither born nor talented for ourselves alone, we are citizens of the universe, inhabitants of the little corner thereof, the dirty pellet where we are now stationed, and whatever we can do for our compatriot reptiles crawling about us, is the best thing to be done for ourselves.

But rule, custom, and fashion are the engines

gines by which men may be drawn into an expedience they do not discern: therefore we ought to be very cautious of weakening the authority of a good rule because we may fancy it needless for ourselves, much less because it lies under some present inconvenience. It were to be wished, that rules could be formed attended with no inconvenience or mischief; but in this elementary globe, the offspring of a chaos not yet grown to perfect symmetry of parts, we must expect to find nothing good without its allay, so shall do wisely to take the good with the bad; better submit to one, than loose the other.

2. Rule is the substitute of reason to direct in times of darkness when there are not lights, a blaze sufficient for informing the understanding, and to restrain the rovings of appetite by its authority: but to do the latter there must be an attachment to it, and it must itself have grown into something of an appetite, for else it will remain an unavailing speculation which can only serve to make our errors wilful, because it is the departure from a known rule which renders a procedure faulty; agreeably to what St. Paul has remarked, that where there is no law there can be no transgression.

But it is necessary there should be many rules

rules to answer the several exigencies that may occur, for where they are few, they will be too general to serve for direction in particular cases, without a greater strength of reason than we have to employ: but when numerous, it is unavoidable that they must sometimes clash, and hence arise the perplexities we meet with in the practice of morality; for where there is but one rule applicable to the business in hand, the road is plain, so that we cannot miss of it unless by want of resolution to execute what we know; but when two rules point to opposite measures, it is not always easy to know whether we have taken the right, or the wrong.

A man is urged by his benefactor to what he thinks not quite expedient for the public, his service is due to both, which then shall he prefer? why the public undoubtedly, whose interests he lies under a higher obligation of pursuing than those of any single person whatever: so you think here is a clear decision of the point if he have but virtue enough to follow it; and indeed there is in matters of importance, but is the decision equally clear in things of smaller concern? what if his friend desires French wine, must he not gratify him for fear of encouraging a trade detrimental to the public? for a man may

may be faultily scrupulous, as well as laudably conscientious: but who can distinguish precisely in all cases between trifles, and matters of consequence to the public, which no rules of civility, custom, or private obligation ought ever to supercede? and in common transactions there is a rule of justice and of equity requiring an exact impartiality to all, yet something is due to favour and to private prudence; but it is hard to settle the precise boundaries between them so as never to stand at a loss in what instances we are to side with a friend, or deal equitably with a stranger, to take care of ourselves in a bargain, or proceed with an honest, open simplicity.

These difficulties have been made the subject of declamations wherewith to exercise scholars in the art of prudence; and we may find some of them canvassed in Tully's offices: but it is impossible to smooth them all, nor should we be much gainers if they could be totally removed, because they put us upon exerting our understanding to extricate ourselves out of them. Experience shows the little avail of those tomes of casuistry which have been compiled in former times, attempting to frame rules for every occasion that can happen, rules for governing the exceptions to be made in those rules, and settling the

precedence among them: if such a scheme could be compleated so as to suit every one's apprehension, we should then live by apprehension alone, having no use for our rational faculty to deliberate, to weigh, to balance, and strike out new lights for ourselves.

But we have all some little portion of understanding given us which will admit of improvement by continual use, and though we can seldom act entirely by reason we may often take assistance from it in the construction and application of our rules, in comparing them together, penetrating into the spirit of them; and trying them by the more general from whence they branched.

If whenever the eye sees double so that the point of rectitude appears on opposite sides, we could look along the line of expedience to its origin the greater good, we might then infallibly distinguish the reality from the appearance: but since opportunities for such large discernment very rarely happen, the sole remedy to supply the want of it lies in determining the precedency of our rules, and settling the degrees of authority among them, so that we may know which ought to supersede another by the shock we should feel upon breaking through it: but then great care must be taken, that some secret prejudice do not intrude in the decision, and the vexation of

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disappointing some favourite inclination be not mistaken for the shock of an offence against rectitude; for it is very common for self-interest to pervert judgment, and for desire to assume the garb and likeness of a rule.

Therefore it is the part of every man to add what he can to the sanction of salutary rules, and preserve the subordination among them, which he may be encouraged to do for his own sake as well as that of the generality; for nobody can attain a thorough knowledge of all points necessary for his conduct so as to proceed by science in all the several branches of it, but he that is able to prescribe in some things may be glad to follow the leading of his neighbours in others. Nor how well soever he may be qualified in point of skill to prescribe, has any of us authority enough to attempt it with probability of success; therefore we shall be most serviceable by joining in with our example and recommendation to add weight to the best of those which are already prevailing.

3. But as the best plants are apt to luxuriate if not carefully watched and skilfully tended, so the attachment to rules sometimes grows too strong, making them a clog instead of a help to our motions; the hunger and thirst after righteousness turns into a vitiated appetite producing righteousness over-much, and

the love of rectitude becomes a preciseness and rigidity unpliant to the common occasions of life. This indeed seldom happens, and then it is by an attachment to one or two favourite rules in neglect of all the rest, for while we pay a due regard to them all they will moderate one another, or submit to the moderation of sober judgment. But as they are not all to be learned at once, for knowledge comes by slow degrees, I should wish to see young people a little over-scrupulous in adhering to the few they are acquainted with, for the same reason that Cicero liked better to find his scholar in rhetoric exuberant than barren; because luxuriance is much easier cured than sterility, as a vigorous plant may be pruned with less trouble than you can nourish up a weakly. For the over-strict will run themselves into inconveniences which must teach them experience to correct their error, but the licentious can never be made sensible, how severely soever they suffer by their licentiousness, because having no observation they cannot profit by experience: besides in one case you will have appetite, the natural propensity to ease and pleasure, and the world to assist you, whereas in the other they will all join strongly with the enemy.

The greatest mistakes spring from an ap-

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prehension of intrinsic value in rules, whereas neither the rules of Religion, nor of rectitude, nor of honour, nor of prudence are good in themselves, they are only measures tending to a good beyond, they are expedients to make up for our short-sightedness, and supply the place of reason: therefore when recourse can be had to the principal, the authority of the substitute is superseded. So it behoves us to study the uses of our several rules, and where they can be discerned, no attachment to the letter ought to withhold us from procuring the spirit, or gaining the end, proposed therein by any methods most effectual for the purpose.

But then the discernment ought to be very clear, for the presumption lies always strongly on the side of received rules; nor must the judgment be passed upon a single inconvenience, but computation likewise be made of the mischiefs that may ensue at other times, either to the public or ourselves upon invalidating their force. Such discernment is most likely to be had where it appears evidently there has been an alteration of circumstances, which may render a rule hurtful that was highly beneficial before, or where it has been palpably misunderstood, or where there is a peculiarity of situation incompatible with the practice of it.

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But though rules ought to be founded on reason, sometimes the reason is none other than for regularity and method sake, in which case they may be so far arbitrary or accidental as to give a preference between forms perfectly indifferent before. If there be a long causey with a hollow way by the side, it is all one whether the passengers going and coming give each other the right hand or the left, yet when one has been pitched upon, it would cause great confusion to break into it. Men acting in concert can perform much more than if each were left to take his own way, but there is no uniting forces unless all will submit to some rule: and a single person may dispatch his work quicker by adhering to the method he had prescribed himself at first, though perhaps there are a hundred other methods which might have answered his purpose as well. One principal benefit of government and subordination is that the word of a superior may be a rule to his dependants, whereby numbers are made to join in the same work, and act as effectually as if the strength of all could be gathered into a single person.

4. The proper sanction of rules is fear, shame, or obligation; there is always something irksome and restrictive in them which we do not choose, but submit to through necessity:

necessity: to rule is the same as to govern, and the ruling passion does not deserve its appellation for the pleasure it gives when followed with full acquiescence and consent of mind, but because it acts as an imperious tyrant driving upon difficulties and fatigues, and forcing us to do things against our judgment. Indeed, while we can hold the benefits attainable by a rule strongly in contemplation, the desire of them may take out all spice of irksomeness belonging to it, yet still the end remains the sole object of our choice, and we pursue the means because obliged thereto by their being necessary to compass our end. When rules are grown familar and the practice of them spontaneous, so that it becomes easier to follow them than abstain, they lose their essence though they retain their name; being now no longer rules governing the conduct, but habits or ways of acting fallen currently into, without care or reflection.

But the language of mankind is not so accurate as to keep the terms always strictly to the same signification, therefore it is usual to call those habits by the name of rules which were first contracted under the idea of obligation, by the necessity of escaping some mischief or ensuring some desirable benefit. Hence comes it that there is a wide difference between leading a regular life, and living

ing by rule; the one is pleasant, easy, smooth, and dispatchful, the other unengaging, toilsome, stiff, and generally wasteful both of time and strength.

Persons who live by rule, though of their own framing and many times whimsical enough, are not esteemed to pass their time the most pleasurably while they make a point of proceeding in certain particular forms and methods, for they still act under an obligation though imposed by themselves, their movements are not a whit the less a task for being a task of their own setting. Wherefore prudence should incline us to set ourselves such tasks as may grow into engaging and profitable habits, for then we may get into a course of acting according to rule without being restrained by it: that this is possible, appears in matters of language; those who speak correctly never deviate from the rules of grammar, yet never are guided by them nor once think of them: it is well known how laborious are the exercises of school boys while forced to put their words together by rules, but when the structure of phrase is become familar to them, there is an end of rule, whose use ceases in proportion as a regularity of diction grows to be habitual: and we learn upon the authority of Cicero, that the rules taught by rhetoricians were not of their own invention

invention but drawn from observation upon the ways of managing an argument practised by orators. So that the purpose of rules is nothing more than to lead into that regularity of speech, and of working the springs of persuasion, which was first acquired without any rule at all; and the effect of proficiency in learning is to get rid of the necessity of rules.

The same it is with the arts of religion, morality and prudence; we must submit to rules at first, some of them irksome and rigorous enough to the novice, and this is the thorny way leading into virtue; but trouble is not wisely undertaken unless for the sake of that ease which is the child of expertness, therefore our business is by a steady adherence to salutary rules to bring the mind as fast as possible into a liking of them and turn them into habits; for then imagination will be disciplined to run spontaneously in regular trains most conducive to our benefit, and desire will anticipate judgment by prompting continually to the very courses which that would recommend: and then are we past the thorny way, and arrived in the delightful champain where all is smooth, and clear, and engaging.

Nevertheless, while groveling in this vale of mortality, we shall still find many quarters of the

the country beset with the like thorns, through which we must open ourselves a passage by the like resolution and perseverance, striving to work as many beaten roads as we can, that we may range about in pursuit of our own advantages and those of our neighbour, with the better ease and dispatch.

5. There is an affinity between rule, habit, and custom, for they all tend to produce a uniformity of conduct, to prevent our motions from being desultory, and join them together into certain courses. Rule, as I said before, is generally founded on obligation, and begun with some degree of reluctance; but custom is oftener fallen into accidentally, or introduced by convenience, or if it were sometimes imposed by rule, the origin is usually forgotten, and men follow it without other reason than because they see it followed.

There is often a very strong attachment to customs not only for the trouble and awkwardness found in going an unbeaten road, but for the veneration they are had in, which raises a kind of a scruple of conscience against departing from them: they are conceived to be good in themselves, to make a rectitude; for it is a constant argument among the common people, that a thing must be done and ought to be done, because it always has been done. History produces instances of

of insurrections that have been raised by endeavouring to put people out of an insignificant, and perhaps inconvenient custom: and every nation esteems its own customs wise, becoming, and laudable, but those of other countries absurd and ridiculous. Many forms in religion have been held sacred and stickled for, tooth and nail, without other reason assigned, than their ancient and general usage, and you may observe people, very different with respect to the principles of their sect, submit to many inconveniences, rather than be put out of the way they have been accustomed to.

Nor does the prevalence stop at actions, it reaches to the sentiments too: for men have as high a veneration for their usual ways of thinking as of behaviour; what they never questioned in their own minds, and never heard questioned, passes for an innate principle, a self-evident truth needing no evidence to support it, and which no evidence can overthrow. It was upon this foundation I suppose that Lucretius asserted so roundly that nothing except body can touch or be touched, and that there can be no understanding unless in a human shape, because he had never seen an intelligent creature in any other. And this I suspect lies at the bottom of all speculative atheism, for being constantly

constantly accumstomed to the operations, and to seek for the causes of all phenomena in the qualities of matter, men cannot bring their imagination to depart from its customary track so far as to conceive any other power to operate.

This likewise makes it so extremely hard to distinguish between creation and composition, or change of form, between essence and existence, between the accession of quality and production of substance, because it has been always customary to apprehend things by their qualities, to give them new names when in assortment which they had not while separate, and esteem them different Beings from their constituent parts. This keeps men so little acquainted with their real selves, and wherein their personality consists, because they have been constantly accustomed to denominate the person by the bodily appearance or the character, and because they never remember themselves existing without organs, therefore count the organs component parts of themselves.

Nevertheless, custom has its uses, and those not inconsiderable, as well for thinking as acting; our surest reasonings proceed upon principles already known and never doubted of, some customary apprehensions must serve for the basis even of those discoveries which

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wean us from others; our knowledge of an immaterial agent springs from having constantly observed upon every close examination into the operations of matter, that it never begins nor encreases an impulse, but only transmits precisely the same it had received from elsewhere.

Custom begets expertness and renders things easy which were difficult and irksome before: it gives us our erect posture, for nature made us prone like the beasts, and endows us with speech which one cannot suppose the first men learnt, nor can you teach your children by rule and grammar: it cements society, for nothing knits men so firmly together as a communion of usages, and if you know the customs of a country you may know where to find company, and how to join with them in their ways of proceeding: it is the retailer to dispense the useful imports of science among the vulgar, in whom many practices of Religion, of good polity, the management of their children and measures of private prudence are mere custom, though introduced originally by wisdom, extensive discernment, and mature deliberation; nor is there any merchant in knowledge of so universal correspondence as to import commodities of all kinds, but must still resort to the shop of general usage for some things,

nor

nor has a better reason to give for many of his proceedings, than because other people do the like: it multiplies engagements, and gives currency to the business of life, for most men would stand idle unless when some urgent desire is afloat, utterly at a loss how to dispose of themselves if there were not certain customary methods of employing their time. Though it influences by attraction without addressing to the reason, yet it always carries the presumption of reason on its side, for nobody would begin a pernicious or inconvenient custom; and sometimes it makes reason, for where there are several roads of equal length leading to the same place, the beaten is always the smoothest, the safest, and the most sociable.

But customs may become bad by an alteration of characters or circumstances, or may have been fallen into unthinkingly without sufficient information of the inconveniencies attending them: therefore it is dangerous to contract such an attachment for old usages, as no experience nor consideration can loosen, for nothing ought to supersede the authority of reason when the judgments of it are clear: to follow any inferior guide implicitly is slavery, not discipline: but then we ought to be very sure of having a good warrant for the liberties taken with prevailing customs,

customs, for the burden of the proof lies strongly upon him that would impeach them; no man is justified in breaking them, because he does not see their expedience, nor unless he plainly sees a mischief attending them.

6. Rule operates as a motive of necessity to escape an evil or damage consequent upon the neglect of it, Custom as a motive of use for some real or imaginary expedience apprehended in it, and Fashion as a motive of honour being followed to raise our credit, or save us from discredit. There is a similitude between the three, they often rise from one another, and grow into one another, and common language is not so exact as to prevent their being spoken of promiscuously; but if we make the distinction those seem to be the proper marks for ascertaining it: for a man in a desolate island might form rules for his conduct, and fall into some customary methods of employing his time, but could never have any such thing as fashion.

The proper province of fashion lies in little matters, such as dress, furniture, diversions, equipage, disposition of houses and gardens, compliments, variations of language or of idioms, and the like, for which there is not provision made by the other two: therefore it has the greatest influence upon persons of much liberty and much leisure, or in hours of leisure

leisure upon high-days and holidays, at least in this country where our artificers think nothing of it while busied at their work, but the French carpenter cannot saw his boards without a long pig-tail and ruffled shirt, nor calling to his fellow, Monsieur, have the goodness to reach me that file. It stands in lieu of all obligations with the ladies who tend a sick relation, take care of their children, go to church, and perform the most important duties, because what would people say? how strange and odd it would look if they were to omit them? Nor are some men behind hand with the fair sex in alleging for justification of what they do in preservation of their estates or maintenance of their rights, that otherwise they should be laughed at: as if there were no other grounds of conduct than the estimation of the world. In short, perhaps there is more honesty and good order produced among us by the fear of one another's censure, than of the divine judgments, the stings of conscience, or the reproaches of our own reason.

As fashion prevails by the desire of admiration and shame of discredit, it necessarily occasions perpetual fluctuations in matters of indifference, some taking up new modes to distinguish them from the vulgar, and the vulgar creeping after them as fast as they can,

can, to put an end to that distinction by which they are mortified. So the contest rises upon much the same foundation with that between Pompey and Cæsar, the courtier cannot bear an equal, nor the citizen a superior; the country dame would have you ready to think she had lived in London all her life, and the town lady strives to make the difference so great you may see it a mile off.

Therefore the recommendation of a fashion is not that it is the prettiest, the neatest, the most commodious, or most useful, but the newest, and adopted by persons of highest rank in the place: nor does there need other recommendation, all others being virtually contained in that, for novelty and high example will make things beautiful and useful that were never esteemed so before, nor ever will be again when those causes cease.

How cumbersome, how ugly, how ridiculous do we think the ruffs and farthingales of former times! yet no doubt they were vastly pretty when in vogue, and our great grandmothers could trip about as nimbly in them as our daughters can in their wide flat hoops, made, like the mercer's counter, to set off the silk rather than the wearer. The mothers choose their ornaments for the intrinsic value,

a few diamonds of good water, or string of oriental pearl, were thought to outshine a multitude of tawdry trinkets: but now if there are any real jewels they must be overwhelmed with a profusion of false stones and silver flourishing, to be new set every two years: and the ears are often loaded with French paste, coloured glass, and other fantastic baubles. A few years ago the hoop could not be pretty unless it rose on each side in a camel's hump, so that the sleeves were forced to be stiffened and made to stand up like a bantam cock's tail, that they might not hitch in the petticoat. One principal source of beauty is expression, but it is not long since the beau, almost throttled in a large solitaire, and his hair strained tight to the bag, till ready to start from the temples, was thought to appear most charming under an expression of the utmost distress.

I was grievously mortified the other day on happening unthinkingly to produce ten pennyworth of half-pence out of my pocket in presence of a fine gentleman; he raised a violent outcry upon me for the absurdity of loading myself with such an enormous weight, and of such filthy metal that one could not touch without daubing one's fingers: now he alwas lugs about a swinging sword with him that weighs ten times as much as my half-

pence

pence, and has left an indelible mark of its neatness in a long sooty smudge upon the lining of my coach; but I durst not retort upon him because I knew very well that fashion has a magical power to make any thing light or heavy, cleanly or nasty by a laugh or an exclamation.

Nor does fashion want the like power in other instances to change the qualities and appearances of things: we prefer dry veal because it is white, and adulterated bread for the like reason, taking for our support a withered kecks instead of the staff of life: we admire white ashes and stewed cucumbers that look as if they had been eaten once before, and garnish the rims of our dishes with dabs of chewed greens: boiled rabbits are trussed up to appear as frightful as possible, and made to resemble that terror of our childhood Raw neck and bloody bones. Our town houses are thought most commodious when the family is squeezed up in scanty closets for the sake of having a spacious hall at the entrance, and in the country we are forced to cut down our shady groves and arbours that a visitor may have a full view of the house half a mile off; thus contriving for show in preference to use, and for momentary pleasures in prejudice of the more durable. Per-

sons of no ear learn to die away in extasy at the charms of music they have been told is Italian: contradictions become elegance and propriety of language, for a thing may be excessively moderate, vastly little, monstrous pretty, wondrous common, prodigious natural, or devilish godly; and a lady last winter walking from the next street to see my Serena, told her she found the way she came along so dirty, that in one part it was absolutely impassable.

Nor are the learned exempt from the influence of fashion, for as that impels they read their Greek by its own accent, or by the Roman; and in reading Latin perpetually make false quantities, judging of the sound by the spelling, or what is more extraordinary by the signification, so that Cano pronounced exactly in the same manner shall nevertheless be a short sound when it signifies I sing, but a long when construed Grey headed: and on hearing the word Manus you cannot possibly measure the quantity by your ear, until you know from the context whether it was used for both hands or only one.

7. Yet is fashion not without its uses, and those no contemptible ones: it furnishes some persons with the whole employment of their time, thereby rescuing them from that most forlorn condition, the having absolutely

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nothing to do, and fills up vacancies between other occupations for the rest of the world. How would the fine lady or the pretty gentleman dispose of themselves if it were not for the labours of the toilette, for auctions, or exhibitions, till three o'clock in the morning, and the duty of visits, the attendance at plays, routs, drums, or Ranelaghs, from seven in the afternoon till one in the evening? and those engaged in any profession, employment, or science, might be at a loss for recreation in their intervals, if there were not methods in vogue ready marked out to their hand. Nay, perhaps we plodding folks might plod on to our mischief, like a hen that would sit till she starves herself, were we not forced off our nest by some necessary compliances with the mode.

Religion and considerate reason can determine only the main branches of our conduct, yet we must always be doing something, but should have no choice in matters left indifferent by them, if we had not the example and recommendation of the world to direct us. It is this influence that chiefly supplies desires, nourishes habits, constitutes elegance, and gives a relish for the ordinary employments it leads into. The men take direction from hence what books to read, the ladies in what works to employ their needle, and both to touch neither

neither books nor needle when the prevailing mode of the time or place happens to run against them. The same test determines what shall be deemed an accomplishment, what game at cards or dice, or what exercise shall be agreeable.

Nor is it in our actions alone and likings of external objects that we drive with the stream, but the same impulse likewise guides the turns of expression and models the cast of imagination, as is evident from the taste and genius peculiar to different ages and countries, which cannot be owing to the soil or climate, nor any other cause than the prevalence of custom drawing those who consort together, into similar trains of thinking. Many order their household, breed up their children, regulate their expences, and take their most important measures according to what they see done by others: so that this lies as a ready rule for multitudes who could not strike out any rules for themselves by their own reason and observation, but must else wander at hap-hazard or stagnate in uncertainty.

And it is the easier rule because it operates by attraction rather than compulsion, not driving upon a disagreeable task, but raising a good opinion and liking of the practices it enjoins. In which circumstance

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I wish the rules of religion could be brought to resemble it, and we might be taught as recommended in Chap. XXVI. to serve God in contemplation of the benefits accruing therefrom, rather than of the mischiefs incurred by disobedience. But for such as think themselves able to form rules upon the reason of things by their own sagacity, still an attention to general practice is not superfluous, for the measures of conduct proper for the different occurrencies in life are so various, that it is impossible for any man to trace them all to their foundations, but he that is qualified to lead upon one occasion, will find himself under a necessity of following upon others. Besides as we live in society, common usage makes the reason in many cases, because without a regard to that, our several manners of proceeding would be so uncouth to one another that we could never join in intercourse either for mutual assistance or entertainment: therefore when people are attached to their own particular ways, you find it very difficult to transact any business or partake in any diversion with them.

Were people never to consort unless when some business of importance brings them together, occasions of this sort happen so rarely, they would continue in a manner strangers to one another; but the rules of civility are the threads

threads compleating the junction of society begun by our mutual needs. The forms of good breeding and general topics of discourse lying upon the level of every capacity, enter us into conversation or serve to fill up the vacancies of it, thereby furnish an opportunity for introducing matters of greater moment without solemnity, for discerning one another's characters, and lead into the knowledge of the world. They give a larger scope to good nature by preparing a beaten track wherein to exercise itself in trifles, for how well so ever disposed, we should not know how to proceed in pleasing one another, if there were not certain methods of behaviour which custom has made agreeable to every body.

8. The sages of old have ranked Courtesy among the virtues, though the lowest of the number: nor is it only a virtue itself but introduces a small degree of many others. It first weans from boyish humours and sudden impulses of wantonness, reconciles to something of discipline and orderly deportment, curbs the eagerness of appetite, and inures to bear little constraints and self-denials; thus teaching some small rudiments of endurance and forbearance, which how small soever are yet a valuable acquisition being one degree better than uncontrouled licentiousness

tiousness. It creates a sensibility of approbation and censure more attentive to the rectitude of actions than to present pleasure or profit, as finding superior satisfaction in the consciousness of having acted right, a disposition rendering the mind susceptible of the sublimest virtues: and though the rule of rectitude be far from the most perfect, yet is it of no small benefit to such as have not a better, nor a useless monitor to such as have, for it has been constantly remarked, that those who affect an utter contempt of the world always fall into some fatal error or gross absurdity, for no man's judgement is so compleat as to set him above learning any thing from his neighbours.

By preserving this regard to others it throws some check upon self-sufficiency, making men sensible of a mutual dependence; as it likewise draws them nearer to an idea of their intrinsic equality by the affability and condescension it recommends towards inferiors, and the voluntary respect and reverence, instead of servile dread and forced obeisance, towards superiors. For in despotic countries where the arbitrary will of the powerful leaves no room for courtesy to interfere, the populace are scarce considered as human creatures, and the women treated as slaves or possessions, many times sold to the best bidder as one would a horse or a picture.

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If Courtesy be the lowest of the virtues, Politeness is the lowest of the sciences; yet a science it is, therefore well worthy the careful attention of such as are not qualified for any higher, as it will keep them to such observation and exercise of their judgment, as they are capable of making: nor is it below the regard of the most profound so far as it can be prosecuted without interruption to things of greater moment, for it will make them more generally useful, abating the stiffness of the closet, and enabling them to accommodate their conceptions to the trains of thought and expression current in the world. This science requires no great ingenuity nor laborious application; a desire to learn, and assiduity under the best masters, that is, the politest company, will suffice; for it is more to be catched by sympathy, than taught by instruction. It wants little previous preparation to qualify the scholar for making proficiency, for a man may be very well behaved without other learning than that gotten under the dancing master to give an ease and grace to his motions: yet it admits of many grafts if there be capacity and inclination enough to cultivate them, which render a gentleman more accomplished, and afford him a larger scope wherein to exercise his politeness; such as music, painting, building, gardening, agriculture

culture, manufactures, commerce, characters, customs and manners foreign and domestic, poetry, wit and humour, criticism, together with such smattering of natural philosophy and the profounder sciences, as may serve to give a solidity, without clogging the ease or damping the liveliness of conversation: for good breeding is most fully exemplified when one appears to understand something of every thing, but it is not needful to pursue any thing to the bottom.

9. It would be a vain attempt in me to go about drawing a perfect character of politeness, a quality for which I never was famous myself, as being too much taken up with my speculations to pay those assiduities to the best masters which I have just now pronounced necessary for gaining the full and genuine completion of politeness: but as in a former place I have called it the skin and outside of virtue, and the skin always conforms itself to the lying of the solids beneath, the shape though not the colour seems to fall properly within my province, and how deficient soever in the practical part, I may still examine the principal foundations whereon the theory stands erected.

Politeness then I perceive may be styled the representative of Charity, employed where she is absent, to execute her office in little matters:

matters: for Charity, though principally driving at the solid good of our fellow-creatures, yet whenever opportunities for such service do not offer, she prompts to please, to oblige, and to gratify: for present pleasure is a good when not bringing on any subsequent mischief, and adds a mite to the stock of happiness. In this respect politeness imitates her, urging to the same works that she does, though not with the same view; for Charity seeketh not her own, she proceeds directly upon a principle of good will to the party gratified, but Politeness carries self in view aiming at the credit of the performer, and to gain the good liking of those whom he converses with. Yet is it a considerable advantage to become habituated to works of virtue though done upon another motive, because this will render the genuine virtue more easy to be acquired; for virtue has a natural beauty engaging to most men while held in contemplation alone, but when they come to the practice, it is the difficulty of breaking off their old courses that sets them against her, therefore if they can be previously led into the courses she recommends, this obstacle being removed, she will find an easy reception.

Nor is it unprecedented that men have been drawn insensibly by the practice of good breeding

breeding into a hearty benevolence of temper: and I believe it will not be doubted that in countries where civility and good manners prevail, there are more instances of true public spirit and disinterested kindness, than among the barbarous and uncultivated. I have before said that private affection is the proper avenue to Charity, and politeness helps considerably forward on the way: affection first draws us out of ourselves, but then it fixes our regards upon a few particular objects; whereas politeness, like charity, spreads them more diffusively, so that all objects indifferently presenting to the view, become qualified to attract them.

It is the rule of charity to love your neighbour, that is, every person who comes within the reach of your good offices; and it is the rule of politeness to make yourself agreeable to the company whatever persons it happens to consist of. As the one covers a multitude of sins, so the other covers a multitude of defects: if there be any imperfection or deformity, any coarseness or inelegance of dress, gesture, or language, any mark of ignorance or peculiarity, any variance of sentiment, it overlooks them all, and strives to suit itself to the taste of those that are present.

Superior skill and ability, as all talents ought, are esteemed given for the benefit of

of others, and employed for the greater ease and entertainment of such as want them; so that imbecillity, of all kinds gives the larger title to deference and complaisance. The weaker sex, who in unpolished countries are considered as the property of the stronger, have by far the greater share both of the legislative and executive authority in the kingdom of fashion: they are likewise the depositaries and judges in matters relating to form and ceremony, so that the soldier, the scholar, the divine, and the metaphysician, unskilled in the niceties of ceremonial law, stand in awe of their decisions; as Hector dreaded the Trodas elkisepeplous, the Trojan ladies with their sweeping trains.

As politeness stands in the passage between affection and charity, it assumes the countenance of the former as well as of the latter; whoever makes one in the circle around you is to be treated as your particular friend; you are to rejoice in whatever has fallen out to his wishes, and sympathize with his displeasures, to be solicitous for the health and prosperity of his relations or intimates, and take his part against all that are absent, to express a predilection of his person, an esteem of his qualifications and deference to his judgment, or if for keeping up the ball of discourse you may offer a variation of opi-

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nion, it must be done by way of suggestion in order only to obtain his determination. The polite man has no will of his own, but takes the pleasure of the company for the guidance of his motions: he is superior to pain, for if his tooth aches or shoe pinches him, he must not make wry faces, nor complain lest it gives other people uneasiness: he has the stoical apathy capable of making all things indifferent and submitting his humours to those of any body else, no perturbation, anxiety, nor eargerness, but possesses a calm, unruffled serenity, and proceeds with awakened ease which is the child of expertness not of indolence. If any thing of contention be unavoidable, he shows a reluctance in entering upon it, manages it with tenderness and good manners, and never suffers you to think his esteem or good-will suspended for a moment. Upon proper occasion he can give advice without insulting, admonish of an indiscretion without displeasing, and rally without giving offence.

Assurance or courage is a necessary ingredient of politeness, for if people are satisfied you could do a rude thing if you had a mind but never have that mind in any single instance, your merit is greater with them, than if complaisance were forced from you by dread of their censures: for there is a difference between

between respect and servile fear, the one is amiable, the other contemptible. Some, who would be thought extremely well bred, how obsequiously soever they behave to every body in their presence, make a practice of censuring, criticizing, and calumniating them as soon as their backs are turned: now with submission to the best mistresses in the science, this seems to me a defect of politeness; perhaps I may be misled by my notion of its similitude with charity, which hopeth all things, believeth all things, and thinketh no evil; but to my apprehension, the essence of politeness requiring a dispassionate temper, whatever betrays the marks of envy, rancour, animosity, ill nature, or other intemperance of mind, must be inconsistent with it. One may indeed gratify the humours of the company by depreciating others, but then if they have any reflections they must see that the same talent will be turned against themselves another time; so they love you for a moment, but will be afraid of you ever after.

Therefore I conceive that the polite man who desires to raise a durable credit with the world, will not be forward to speak ill of any body, but select the bright spots of a character, and seek for extenuations in those parts which cannot entirely be defended; for by using to give every body their due commendation, his civilities

civilities to persons present will appear to be sincerity and not mere compliment.

In former times there was a good deal of constraint in the modish ways of treating one another, people were forced to eat and drink more than they liked, and pressed to stay upon a visit longer than was agreeable, but now those nuisances are happily removed, and liberty is become the basis of our laws, as well of fashion as of the land: but liberty is best advanced by every one restraining himself in such fancies as must prove a restraint upon those of other persons, indulging those desires only which are compatible with theirs, and making it his principal desire to contrive and labour for their entertainment. Therefore where there is a number of thorough, well-bred persons joined in an expedition, I conceive it the truest miniature of an Utopian or paradisiacal state: things lie in common among them, there is no greediness, contention, or suspicion, no trouble is grudged for the general accommodation, and every one strives to make things as agreeable as possible to the rest.

10. But as there is no good thing in this world without its allay, politeness which we have seen of such excellent use to promote order, harmony, and enjoyment among mankind,

kind, produces its evil weeds copiously enough as well as its salutary fruits. I have said just now that it assumes the countenance of affection and charity, but too often carries the countenance only without an atom of the substance. It is become a proverb that the Spaniard often kisses the hands he wishes were cut off; and your very courtly people appear extremely obliging to persons they do not care a farthing for; nor does the affability of the well-bred always make them a whit the more candid to think well, or more inclined to wish well to others.

This proceeds from their taking the credit of politeness for their ultimate point of aim, pursuing it rather as a brilliant accomplishment, than as a valuable quality, which renders the reality superfluous, because credit must result from appearances, not from sincerity and heartiness which cannot be discerned. This accomplishment, as observed above, is an avenue to virtue, but he that has gone no further on his way, than just to enter the avenue, has made very little progress, it is well if he does not strike aside into the by-paths of error and mischief. The case here is much the same with that of Religion, where forms and ceremonies are the necessary avenues conducting into the substance: but it is well known what extravagancies have been

been run into by those who mistake the form for the substance. As in discreet head-long zeal has proved the source of superstition, censoriousness, animosity, and persecution, so an eargerness to be admired for the pink of politeness, has sometimes given occasion to a pernicious delicacy and refinements in vice, making men worse than they would have been by mere natural inclination; whence some have maintained that the polite arts have been a mischief to the world because enormities abound in countries where they prevail, which are unknown among savages.

This may be owned without proving them a mischief, if their benefits greatly overbalance the abuses made of them; for the best things when corrupted turn into the worst, which does not destroy their value unless the corruption were to become general. We have seen in the last sections, of what excellent services an attention to politeness is capable when under the guidance of judgment, and directed to the advancement of virtue, but when taken up for a first principle of action, when made an object of ambision, it produces direct contrary effects.

Instead of promoting charity, condescension, and a better sense of intrinsic equality it generates contempt and loathing, and widens the difference between man and man,

making the rude and vulgar regarded as an inferior species of creatures. It inspires with vanity and the desire of excelling instead of that of excellence, for things are not coveted for their intrinsic value or usefulness, but for their being elegant and modish. Persons under this influence disdain every thing that is vulgar or does not distinguish them from the common heard, they perpetually vie with their equals and emulate their superiors: which gives them an utter aversion to trouble, to consideration, regularity, and discipline, as mean things fit only to keep the populace in order, and runs them into all fashionable follies, dissipation, and ruinous expences.

The superfine gentleman must not put on his own cloaths, look into his own estate, nor eat, nor talk, nor do any thing like the bulk of mankind: he has no judgment of his own, but takes his measures of all kinds from the modish standard, and even chooses his diversions, not because he likes them, but because followed by the beau monde: he scorns application and seriousness, economy and justice to his tradesmen, because he sees them disregarded by persons of fashion, and would be ashamed to pursue a close train of thought or argumentation as being pedantic, but decides every thing at once by positiveness and exclamation: he cannot endure to be alone

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because then having no opportunity of shining, but aims to sparkle in all companies even before his own servants, and is as proud of understanding all the punctualities and niceties of elegance, as Alexander was of conquering the world.

It has been observed in the last section, that politeness teaches to submit your own humours to those of the company; therefore so far may be deemed a species of useful self-denial; but then it affords no check upon their humours, so that when made the sole principle of action, it encourages the indulgence of every humour and folly wherein others will join, and you may even lead them into whatever fancy you please, so there be no constraint used, but you can make the thing agreeable to them. Thus the denial of private desires serves only to instigate and give a larger scope to the general.

Its object being to please and entertain, rather than to do a real benefit, it naturally fixes the attention upon little forms and modes of behaviour, which best answer its purpose; or if it urges to any learning or accomplishment, they are such only and to be cultivated so far, as may make a man more agreeable in conversation, not more serviceable to himself or others in life; as if the sole business of mankind were amusement. By this means

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things of moment and trifles are made to change their nature, great stress is laid upon the latter so as to engross the thoughts in contempt of the former: and a man is estimated not by his skill in any science or merit in his profession, but by his manners of entering a room, the fluency and liveliness of his discourse, and readiness in making a handsome compliment.

It is difficult to say where the legislative power in matters of fashion resides, the women as said before, have a considerable share, but they do not proceed by session, deliberation, or council, so their statutes are many times fantastic and arbitrary, and if chance and whim have an influence any where, it must certainly be here. The administration is carried on with the utmost rigour of legal justice untempered by equity, no allowance made for mistake, or ignorance, or want of information, but whoever does not conform exactly to the letter of the law, is cried down as a brute. For though the thorough polite overlook all involuntary failings, there is always a set of people one may style the executioners of the law, who pretending to every thing of politeness except an equitable temper, pass very severe judgment, for though the regulations change every year, it is the highest crime with them to be unacquainted with the several alterations as soon as made.

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The wants of nature are soon satisfied, but men multiply wants to themselves by their inordinate desires; and if they can moderate their own desires within a reasonable compass, still the world will be perpetually urging them to new cravings, and imposing many things as necessary in order to keep up their appearance and estimation: if it could be computed how much we are forced to do for satisfying others which we should not choose of our own accord, perhaps it would be found that many of us pay higher taxes to the fashion than to the national supplies. Nor are we only controuled in our expences but cramped in our liberty, much of our time and activity being disposed of at the will of others, and the necessary compliance with modes and ceremonies sometimes prove a grievous interruption to engagements we might have pursued with more satisfaction and emolument.

11. Since then we see so much good and evil flow from the same source, it will behove us to proceed with discretion, that we may avoid the one, and gather the other: but there is no making a choice while driven by the torrent and moving by impulse, nor unless we employ the current to carry us more commodiously to some certain mark we keep in our eye, for which purpose it will be necessary

necessary to consider the uses of politeness and what course it takes to arrive at them.

The uses I conceive are to make our time pass more pleasurably in those many intervals wherein there is no room for important services, to supply us with methods of exercising our charity in little matters, or enable us more easily to communicate the benefit of any improvements we have attained: and the course lies by making us agreeable to one another, and mutually indulgent to our desires. Upon this view it appears evident that politeness ought not to be taken up as an ultimate aim but employed in subserviency to further ends, nor is compleat without something more solid to give it a substance, for the art of communicating one's thoughts handsomely when one has nothing to communicate, is but a jingling plaything at best. Neither will a fondness for brilliancy help to steer in the right course, which is better pursued by striving to be agreeable, than to gain admiration: many think to show themselves polite by extraordinary elegancies not to be paralleled elsewhere, but this is a deviation from the rule of politeness, as expressing a selfishness and desire of excelling not of gratifying others, who they may suppose cannot be well pleased at seeing themselves excelled and outdone.

But

But the polite man will take the real pleasure of others for the mark of direction whereby to steer his conduct: he will not think of self any further than to beware of things unbecoming, which might render him disgustful to them, nor will he do any thing for show unless it be of his readiness to oblige, for this he may wish to show as being a prospect in its very nature soothing to the beholder. For the like reason he will neither be foremost or hindmost in the fashions, neither scrupulously exact nor carelessly deficient in forms and punctilios; for he will have so much respect for the world and for persons with whom he converses, as never to express a contempt of them either by his singularity or by undertaking to surpass them. He will see that politeness, like charity, extends its verge to all ranks though exerting itself in different manners, so that the low, the ill-bred, and the ignorant still are objects of its regard: therefore he will condescend and place himself upon the level with all, avoiding whatever might mortify or lay them under difficulties, yet without demeaning himself or stooping to things unsuitable with his character; for this would render him less amiable in the eyes of the world, by whose rules of decorum he will be guided, and not by a fondness for dignity, even in the bounds he sets to his condecension.

As

As there are various talents of all sorts and sizes among mankind, those whom nature or education have rendered unfit for any thing else, do right in making it their business to study the modes, for any business is preferable to total indolence and inattention: but before they value themselves upon their proficiency I would have them satisfied that they were utterly incapable of better employment. If this be their case they stand approved, as having performed the part allotted them, for nothing is insignificant in the hand of Providence: the butterfly, the goldfinch, the fiddler, and the beau have their several uses in this sublunary system, and he that does his best, how trifling soever it be, does all that was wanted from him.

We do not reckon our houses finished as soon as the mason and the carpenter have performed their part, but there still remains employment for the painter, the carver, the gilder, and the paper-hanger: nor is the condition of life compleat when the uses of it are supplied, but something is still wanting to be done for embellishment and amusement; and in those seasons wherein no opportunity offers of promoting a solid benefit, entertainment and present pleasure is our business, which will then bear a reference to the grand intention. Therefore those innocents

who

who stand in no situation to do any service in life, may deserve our applause if they contribute what they can, to the chearfulness and enjoyment of it; for this world is a stage, and it is not the importance of the part, but the performing it well that merits a plaudit.

Yet if there be any seeds of genius or application, they may be better bestowed in cultivating some of the polite arts than in matters of mere show, and form and fashion, still remembering that those arts serve only for embellishment and engagement of the time, therefore must not grow into a passion, nor be made an object of vanity, nor suffered to engross the thoughts from all prudential considerations. Such as have no judgment of their own, must take their measures solely upon what they see done by others; but with the best judgment there is still a deference due to the ways of the world, which deserves an authority, not a servile submission. We have seen in the last section how many mischiefs are endangered by driving impetuously with the impulse of fashion, therefore we must learn to stem the torrent, to dare to be singular, to bear the censures of the multitude: yet this need not abate our disposition to comply, but rather is a necessary foundation to support it, for compliance is not itself

when

when forced, nor can subsist in a feeble, passive temper.

I have observed in a former place, that he who can never refuse a favor can scarce ever be said to grant one, for it is wrested from him, not given; in like manner he that follows the mode because he cannot help it, can no more be said to comply, than a prisoner complies with a constable who carries him to goal. Yet there is no need to resist for resistance' sake, nor affect singularity merely to show our sturdiness, for occasions enow will offer wherein we shall find it expedient to judge for ourselves, and whenever such do not offer, non-compliance is a fault.

For the presumption lies strongly on the side of general practice, which therefore ought to prevail unless when the judgment clearly discerns an inconvenience therein: and even then the disposition to compliance ought not to abate, but always weigh in the scale, nor even fail to draw down the balance because become light in our estimation, but because overpowered by a greater weight. There is that deference due to the world and to the company, which requires to submit our particular humours to theirs, but not to submit our reason: and hence arises a difficulty in the commerce of the world, for humour so often assumes the garb and countenance of reason,

reason, that it is not easy to know them apart; therefore here a careful and thorough examination is requisite, that we may be very sure of having a sufficient warrant from the necessity or manifest expedience of the case, whenever we venture to move in an eccentric orb.

12. Rule, precedent, and mode supply the place of judgment; therefore are necessary for the direction of those who cannot trace the reasons of things themselves, and of all persons in such matters whereof they want experience or opportunities to form a judgment upon. They are the means whereby the judgment and experience of some become serviceable to many, and the principal channels through which the benefits of society are mutually communicated. It is by their aid that theory may be made practical, nor is speculation of any better avail than to strike out some salutary rule or manner of conduct, which is frequently the result of many observations and trials, correcting one another to accommodate it to general use.

Therefore there is a reverence due to them not to be destroyed by any little defects; for as my lord Coke says, the law will rather suffer an injury than an inconvenience, so it is better submit to a present inexpedience, than break through a prevailing usage convenient for the commerce of the world.

Mode

Mode and example are more efficacious and easier methods of conveying improvement than instruction, because there are more people that have senses than understanding, or that can follow your ways than enter into your reasonings: besides that the benefit you do will be likely to spread more diffusively, for he that imitates what he sees done may become an example to draw others after him, but it is not so easy for him to communicate the knowledge he has learned without dropping the greater part by the way. Add to this, that the influence of general practice lightens the work to the learner, rendering it scarce needful to use any efforts of his own; for it allures and assists him in the progress, it operates upon the machine by means of sympathy and the passions whose springs are stronger than those of the understanding, and will carry him on almost whether he will or no. Therefore we sometimes see persons who move always mechanically without any consideration or vigour of mind to help themselves, yet led insensibly into a propriety of action and sentiment by having fallen among good company.

It were much to be wished, though little to be expected, that rules, customs, and modes for the common transactions of life might be introduced by discretion and mature judgment

ment of their several uses, instead of sprouting up accidentally from a coincidence of passions and fancies, or the wanton humours of such as have the eyes of the multitude turned upon them: but then regard must be had to the passions and tempers of men, to what is feasible rather than what is rigorously right, and they must be conducted into such ways as are passable by them without constraint or reluctance.

And I seem to perceive that use is more consulted in those matters by my cotemporaries than in former times; but then it is a use that tends as often to mere convenience and entertainment, as to more solid advantage. Both these deserve a share of consideration in their proper places, yet where a practice can be brought into vogue that tends to encourage any profitable self-denial, any well-directed industry, any encrease of harmony and mutual good will, or any improvement of the rational facultics, surely it ought to carry the preference.

Some perhaps may fancy that if we had examples of what is right in every particular before our eyes which might draw us mechanically to follow them, there would be no place for private judgment, which derives its clearness from observation of the errors of others, and its strength from opposition to

their

their perversities driving like a torrent upon us: but I conceive we should still find a use for our reason in applying the example we would imitate, to the particular circumstances of our own situation, for he that follows another blindfold, may plunge into a dirty hole the other steps over; and a use for our resolution in making continually fresh conquests over the frailties and passions of our nature, which can never be totally mastered. But there is no need to fear that we shall ever want employment for our understanding by having the paths of rectitude and propriety beaten out before us wherein we might be constantly led by our fellow travellers, without making our own observations upon the road; for there will always be so much of the casual and the fantastical in the ways of the world, as will find exercise enough for our reasons and our resolution to guard us against the mischiefs of them.

Unless the ten righteous, several times spoken of before, should arise; for they we may suppose will make good use of those powerful engines by which imagination may be brought into any train, and made unknowingly to execute the works of reason: they will soon raise a credit by the importance, the regularity, the propriety, the easiness, and the amiableness of their own deportment; and having

having gained the authority of leaders they will penetrate into the secret springs of human nature, discern the characters of mankind, and know what practices may most usefully be introduced among them. They will keep their ultimate end, the perfection and happiness of the species, constantly in view, and observe by what line of bearing every thing may tend to promote it. Nor will they neglect matters of trifle, the common transactions and daily occurrences of life, as well knowing that these may be made remotely subservient to important uses.

They will prevail to fix the point of honour upon endeavours to advance the general good, and bring an unaffected Charity to become the genuine mark of Politenes; to make a just confidence in the protection of Providence, a prospect of futurity and unmistrustful Hope in the divine Goodness, be reputed fashionable sentiments; to cast a general disrepute upon all-selfishness, indulgence, indolence, over-delicacy, vanity, greediness, dread of pain, labour or self-denial, and lead men into a true sense of that nice but useful distinction between a desire of excellence, and a desire of excelling. Nor will they only employ the impulse of example and fashion for leading the world into courses of conduct without knowing their expedience, but inure them

likewise to observe the benefits resulting therefrom, and search for the reasons making one manner of proceeding preferable to another. For they will apply their cares to rectify the reasonings as well as actions of mankind, introducing methods for choosing the objects suited to their several capacities, and judging soundly according to the lights respectively afforded them: so that each man's improvement will be the fruits of his own industry and judgment, taking only the assistance of example to suggest materials for exercising them upon; and thus when all hands are brought to unite, the work of reformation may be expected to go on with a rapid progress.

13. In the mean while until such consummate masters appear, it will behove us imperfect creatures to keep an attentive eye upon the modes and practices current around us, not to take direction from thence for our own conduct and commerce with one another, but likewise to employ them as engines for bringing the rest of the world into a little better order,: for we are all public persons stationed here not for ourselves alone, but to improve every opportunity that opens for working a benefit in any respect for others with whom we have intercourse.

But it will be said, we are not of conse-

quence

quence enough to strike out a mode or become a pattern for the generality to follow: this I am sensible of, and would have it never slip out of mind, that we may not take upon us more than is becoming, for then we shall never affect any thing. It is the grand mistake of the well-intentioned to aim always at doing mighty matters, but true industry lies attentive to small profits wherever accruing.

A private man must not think of introducing new practices into vogue, nor giving a sudden check to those he dislikes; yet he may a little weaken the torrent he cannot stop, and add a trifle of briskness to the stream he did not set agoing. For customs prevail by degrees and subside by degrees, as individuals successively fall into them, or lay them aside, so that each has his proportionable share in the force that makes the stream; nor can it be foreseen what effect one man's perseverance may have to give it a general turn, at least his example may have an influence upon his family, his neighbours or his intimates, or by their means may sometimes extend elsewhere further than he could have imagined. Therefore let him not think himself so insignificant as to make it wholly indifferent with respect to other persons how he behaves, nor so important as to pretend an

authority over them, to dictate, to rebuke, to censure, or stand in open defiance against them: for gentle bending will do more than force, nor need this bending be attempted avowedly by premeditated design, for a steady tenour of conduct pursued upon good foundations for a man's own convenience or good liking, will attract the courses of other persons to warp the same way, almost without their perceiving it.

By this means a man may enlarge his scheme of conduct and add many little strokes to fill up his plan of rectitude, so as scarce ever to stand idle or useless for want of some commendable aim to pursue. For his virtue will not be confined to arduous and burdensome tasks, but taught to tread the paths of pleasantness, and will find employment in his familiar conversations: so he will not think the time lost that is not spent in devotion or important services, while it can bestowed in adding something to the good order, the decency, the convenience, or innocent enjoyment of those about him. He will seldom proceed solely by the impulse of pleasure, but for the most part find some good end whereto his pleasures may be made subservient, which he can reflect on afterwards as a profit gained; thus by continual practice learning more and more the art of

sanctifying

sanctifying his common actions in the intercourse of the world: for whatever makes a little profit, the best that the occasion would permit, will bear a reference to his great ultimate aim, the glory of God pursued by every accession of happiness among his creatures.

CHAP. XXXVI.

EDUCATION.

AS much as a man may be counted by nature a reasonable creature, certain it is from constant experience that he is not born in possession of that faculty: Nature only furnishes the soil and sows the seeds whereout reason is to grow afterwards, in long process of time. The plant is not reckoned to show itself until seven years old, and then appears feeble and scarce perceptible; during the warmth of youth, it lies choaked under the weeds of passion, appetite, whimsy, and inordinate desire, nor is believed to arrive at maturity until forty. But whether it shall ever come to full maturity at all, or what condition of health and vigour it shall then attain, depends as much upon cultivation, upon favourable

favourable circumstances, and upon fortune, as upon nature. Nay, the gifts of nature herself may be ranked among those of fortune: for it was chance to us at what time, in what country, and of what family we were born, what was the constitution and state of health of those from whom we derived our own, what intemperances, follies, and accidents our mothers have escaped which might have ruined our bodily, or mental powers: and when come forth into the world, we lie at the mercy of nurses and servants by whose carelessness or giddiness we might have contracted diseases, or received hurts, the bad effects of which we could never have gotten over.

But when safe from these hazards with all our organs and faculties entire, still the degree of improvement to be made with them, depended upon the care or negligence, the prudence or indiscretion of our parents or tutors; nor upon that alone, but upon the examples before our eyes, the companions consorting with us, the incitements to good behaviour striking our notice, the temptations falling in our way, the secret turns our inclination happened to take, and a thousand external accidents which no prudence could foresee, no care nor judgment certainly provide, or prevent. While under the government

ment of others the danger is not so great or not so apparent, for what mischiefs have been contracted early may be generally, though not always, discovered and rectified by their authority and good management; but when the reins of liberty begin to be loosened, then is the critical time, for the latent seeds of evil weeds will then sprout vigorously, and others be received from quarters where the ground was well sheltered before. So that it is impossible to know certainly how a lad will prove, notwithstanding all the good governance that has been bestowed upon him; but some fond passion miscalled love, some ill-placed friendship, some extravagance or debauchery, some violent fancy or eargerness of pleasure may frustrate the best culture and overturn the most promising hopes.

The years from sixteen to twenty-five may be reckoned the most important part of life, as determining the colour of all the rest: the time lost then can very rarely be retrieved by subsequent diligence, nor is there room to expect any subsequent diligence, after a habit of idleness contracted then; but the manner of disposing that interval must decide whether the man shall be good for something or nothing, or what he shall be good for ever after: and the disposal depends principally upon himself; he may receive assistance from friends

friends and parents, but it lies in his own breast what use he shall make of their assistance. In this important season which is to fix his fate as well in this as in the other world, what sure direction has he to carry him through the business of it? his passions are then most impetuous, the joy of new-gotten liberty urges him to throw off the restraint even of his own reason, or if he has a notion of reason, he lies liable to mistake the impulses of passion for its dictates, and think whatever he stands strongly inclined to demonstrably right: his judgment is crude, hasty, opinionated and obstinate, founded upon two or three favourite maxims as upon absolute certainty, which if they happen to lead the right way, it is rather an effect of good luck than of discernment.

Thus, how true soever it be that each man makes his own fortune in happiness, it is as true that the previous indulgence of fortune led him into the proper dispositions and methods for making it: and any one who will reflect impartially on the follies, the erroneous notions, and strong propensities of his youth, must think it almost a miracle that he has escaped the mischiefs of them so tolerably as he has done.

2. But Fortune is but another name for Providence, from whose disposition of causes all

all fortuitous events as well as the stated laws of nature flow; therefore to that origin is owing that we are what we are, as well in our moral character, as in our situation with respect to externals. For though we have undoubtedly a freedom of will and our actions follow precisely upon our volitions, yet we shall use our freedom according to the judgments and sentiments of our mind, derived to us from external causes not of our own procurement; so that we have as much reason to thank Heaven for any good deeds we have performed, as for the daily bread we eat.

Thus without entering into the subtilties of Freewill, we may satisfy ourselves by experience of the world around us, and by contemplating the progress of the human faculties in their several stages of growth, that there is a certain line of life marked out to every man, not by a compulsive fate or predestination, but by the provision of causes for furnishing him with those natural parts and subsequent acquirements, those ideas, habits, inclinations, and ways of thinking which shape the whole of his conduct. He is left in numberless instances to do as he pleases, but derives from prior sources the springs of action determining what he shall please to do in every one of them. Had he been otherwise constituted or instructed, beheld

held other examples, fallen into other company, met with other accidents of the disgustful or alluring kind, though his choice might still have been equally free, he would have made it in another manner.

From this consideration that nothing falls out either in the moral or naturul world, either among the actions of man or of matter, without the permission or appointment of our almighty Governor, arises a stumbling-block not presently to be gotten over, for we cannot easily reconcile ourselves to the thought of evil proceeding originally from the same fountain with good. But the ways of Heaven are all established in perfect wisdom, goodness, and equity: therefore we may rest assured that whatever is evil, so far as we can see of it, terminates in some greater good, to us unseen: we can discern that vices often correct one other, and the miseries they involve some persons in, serve for a warning to deter multitudes from incurring the like; so although a grievous hurt to particulars, they are a benefit to mankind in general, and we can understand them sent in mercy to those who profit, not in anger to those who suffer by them.

But the first fall of man and that proneness in human nature to offend, which renders a continual warning and an opposition of contrary vices necessary, cannot be thought permitted

permitted in kindness to the human species, therefore we must conclude them redounding to some necessary service of the universe, and that there are other creatures to whom the profits accruing therefrom are greater than any sufferings occasioned by them. This reflection may serve for a clue in the most mysterious dispensations of Providence, and afford us comfort under all the evils of sin and suffering we see in others, or have fallen into ourselves, as being persuaded that all things are ordered ultimately for the best, and whatever yields nothing but mischief to man, tends by some unknown way to the advantage of the spiritual host, whose numbers are infinitely larger, and their interests more valuable than those of the visible creation. And as we have hope in the divine Equity of being ourselves incorporated into that host, though perhaps at a very remote distance of time, yet the remotest time will one day be the present, and we shall then find our happiness supported by the like dispensations among inferior creatures with those which afflict and gall us now.

Yet such reflection can only furnish ground of content in what evils we cannot help, but none for being remiss in warding off those we can any ways avoid: Providence indeed, which is styled Chance in the language of men, dis-

poses

poses all things for the best, yet is it of the essence of prudence to leave as little to chance as possible; but prudence must take her measures, not upon what is best in the all-seeing eye which we can never know, but upon what appears so to our best discernment.

We have nothing to do with the line of causes lying behind which brought us our knowledge, our sentiments, and abilities; it is our business to look before along the line of consequences which may result from our actions, and steer our course according to what we discover there. We have a certain compass of power and freedom allotted, and a portion of understanding to direct us in the proper uses to be made of them; but our understanding is of the provision of Heaven, therefore what good conduct flows from thence, may be presumed to promote the general interest of the universe, as well as what flows by any other channel: so that since we cannot certainly know in what instances, our good or evil conduct will prove most beneficial to invisible creatures, it behoves us to pursue our own advantage, and that of our fellow-creatures with whom we have a visible intercourse, by such methods as our reason and those salutary rules which were the result of former reasonings shall direct; and the rather

ther because, so far as we can judge, the doing good to any single member is the most likely way to encrease the common stock and promote the good of the whole.

Therefore our contrivance and industry is due to the good of our neighbour, that is any creature to whom we have a prospect of being able to do a service. The spiritual host lies too remote from our knowledge to stand in any degrée of neighbourhood with us, so we have no care to take for their service, but may trust Providence to guide us unknowingly into the measures that shall best answer their occasions: but our concern lies with our own species, whose interests more or less general we may have opportunities of promoting. And since the introduction into life is made by helpless infancy, capable in great measure of being made the prelude to a happy or miserable life, of being moulded into an useful or mischievous member of society according to the hands wherein it falls, therefore we ought to look upon our children and other young persons under our management as the nearest of our neighbours, to whom our cares may be most usefully applied, as well for their own benefit, as that of the world wherein they are afterwards to bear a part.

3. Perhaps I shall be counted too speculative in recommending a thought to be had of our

our children even before their birth, but it is certainly of great importance to them in what manner we bring them into the world, and therefore deserves to be esteemed a matter of importance by us, if we can extend a regard beyond ourselves to those who are nearest, and ought to be dearest to us. Were this consideration duly attended to, it must put a check upon unlawful amours, which how much soever a sport to the parties engaged, may prove death, or what is worse than death, a miserable life, to the unhappy produce of them.

Nor let people fancy their offspring indebted to them for an entrance into being; for how know they by what laws the creation of souls, or introduction of them from some former state are administered, or that the same soul would not have found an entrance by some other passage into a better station, where it would have had the full benefit of that parental affection and tenderness which now it is likely to miss off? For children drawn into the world through this by-way are looked upon as a burden, a shame, and a misfortune to their parents, often made away with, generally neglected, and very rarely find the due share of fondness and countenance needful in their helpless condition, and to which they are naturally entitled. There

are those who think to excuse themselves in these pranks by pretending to follow the impulses of nature; but surely it is a strange way of following nature to do that which tends to choak the growth of all natural affection, a provision which Nature has rendered as necessary for the well being of her infant productions, as the mother's milk for their sustenance; or rather more so, because if the milk fails, there are other ways of supplying its place by nurses and paps; but parental instinct is not to be bought with money, nor a succedaneum to be gotten that will answer the purpose effectually, for no man can have the same hearty tenderness for another's bastard, as for his own children.

But suppose the father ever so strongly inclined to procure all advantages for his child it is not in his power to do it completely, for to succeed herein he will want some assistance and countenance of other people, which he must not expect to find: he cannot introduce him among his friends, relations, nor acquaintance, nor teach him that useful science of the world which is only to be learned by experience and observation; he has not a continual opportunity of inspecting his conduct, but his cares of him must be taken by stealth or at a distance; in case of mortality he has nobody to trust who might prove a second father, for nobody

nobody will regard him as a friend or a relation, entitled to any more than mere charity and compassion demand for a fellow-creature in distress; and with all his endeavours he can never secure him from the discouragements and brow-beating of censorious and ill-natured persons. In short, let any man consider how he would like to have been born himself under such disadvantages, and then apply the golden rule to those who are to be of his own flesh and blood.

Nor is it enough to avoid the hazard of bringing them into the world in a manner that shall make them a shame to us, some little consideration seems requisite of what other parent we give them upon whom their future health of body and mind is to depend jointly with ourselves. People choose solely for their own pleasure or convenience without a thought of their rising families, unless perhaps to provide a maintenance for them by settlements, and that not always, for your novel hunters learn to despise all common prudence under the notion of mercenary views, their fancy of circling joys which will never end makes them giddy, so that they can behold nothing calmly and steadily ever so little remote; an engaging person, a talent for diverting conversation includes all merit with them, and constitutes the whole of happiness. But

if they like to live in a hollow tree themselves, or could be sure they shall like it as well ten years hence as they do now, will their children be happy by being born in one, and having nothing but the slender bark and barren leaves for their shelter and support? It is surely of concern to them that both parents should have some discretion, considerateness, knowledge, and abilities capable of discerning other objects beyond the circling joys; and there should be a harmony and mutual esteem between the families on both sides: for all these things will have a share of influence in determining the colour of their lives.

But happiness is made up of many ingredients requiring forethought to provide for them, and if any principal ingredient be wanting, it will render all the rest of no avail; therefore it is a cruelty, or at best an unpardonable negligence, when people entail diseases, distemperature of brain, weakness, or poverty upon their offspring by unsuitable matches, or provide them with a parent who knows nothing but trifling dissipation and amusement, incapable of steadiness, or consideration, or of helping them either by instruction or example. This is sacrificing their children to their own fond fancy, or the glare of riches and splendor, whichever of the two idols happens to possess their imagination.

I know one cannot hope to have things at all points exactly to our wish, but must do the best that is feasible; therefore shall not dictate how far the interest of the parties themselves are to give way to those of their children yet unborn, which must be left to every one's own judgment, upon the circumstances of his case: I only say the latter ought not to be so totally overlooked as too commonly is done, especially by very young persons, but deserves admittance into the scale of consideration and to have its due weight in determining the choice. And if such weight has been given in making the connection, I presume it will not cease to operate afterwards during the time of gestation: but the mother will abstain from such intemperances, diversions, and hazards, as might prove hurtful to the burden she bears, preserving such a steadiness and sobriety of temper, as may secure her against frights and longings; and the father will strive to ward off whatever might excite any turbulent passions, or urge to any improper exercises which would disturb the vegetation of the growing plant, or vitiate its juices.

4. But all that could be urged upon these topics is scarce likely to be much heeded or prevail on any to forego a fond passion or favorite desire, which has nothing more than self

self for its object: therefore I shall suppose the children already come into Being, and then it may be presumed there will be a motion of instinct towards them; but it is very material whether this principle be left to operate at random, solely by its own impulses, or guided by judgment and discretion.

If due consideration be had, they will not be regarded merely as playthings for the parents to divert themselves with, or show about among their friends and visitors to remark how tall, how lusty, and how lively they are; but as an important charge committed to our hands, as our nearest neighbours whose fortune in this world and the next depends upon our management, which therefore deserves to be esteemed a serious affair, and be made the object of our constant attention. For the constancy of the application is of more consequence than the vehemence of it, as a little negligence or indiscretion will overthrow the good effects of many cares. People are apt to be prodigiously anxious for their children by starts, just when it comes strongly into their heads, and then think no more of them for long intervals afterwards. In their serious moods they collect treatises of education in hopes to find a secret there for becoming excellent managers by the bare perusal: but these aids at most can only di-

rect them in some particulars how to apply their industry, but can never infuse it; they must draw this principle from their own fund, and have gotten an habitual diligence before they become qualified to reap any benefit from the observations suggested to them. It is not a set of rules how compleat soever, but a steady vigilance and readiness to seize every opportunity of practising them, that must do the work: where there is the latter, it will go a great way towards supplying deficiencies in the former, for we see people with very little knowledge or judgment succeed well enough for common use by an assiduous application of such judgment as they have, and there are many more errors committed in the world through negligence than ignorance.

I know very well the nursery cannot and ought not to engross all our time, for though our nearest neighbours reside there we have other neighbours beside to whom a proportionable share of our regard is due: but those who are nearest deserve to be foremost in our thoughts, and that there be no want of attention by which they might suffer. The business of a profession, the duties of our station, and other necessary avocations must be complied with, and therefore may be allowed to abate something from our assiduities to home concerns; but the latter clearly claim the preference

ence before matters of mere amusement, diversion, and self-indulgence; which therefore ought to be pursued only so far, as can be done without detriment to them.

Yet self-indulgence is not the only danger to be guarded against, the fondness which first attaches us so strongly to our own humours, when transferred upon the little ones, may do them infinite mischief: those nearest neighbours certainly deserve to be loved as ourselves, but it has been shewn in a former place that whoever loves himself improperly does no kindness to another by loving him in the same manner, and may offend grossly against the law of charity by doing to him as he would be done by. If we neglect our own interests to gratify some present fond desire, it is folly; if we do the like by our children, it is injustice and cruelty; for nature has given them no knowledge of their own, but entrusted them to our judgment, if therefore we refuse them the full benefit they might receive therefrom, we betray our trust.

Tenderness we cannot have too much, provided it be under the controul of reason; and this may incline us to procure them all the pleasure and ease consistent with their good, but never give way to a present indulgence that may be attended with mischievous or dangerous consequences. I have heard peo-

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ple value themselves upon their inability to resist an opportunity they know to be hurtful; but if this be excusable from the weakness of human nature, certainly it is not matter of glorying, they ought to be ashamed of it, and strive to mend it as soon as possible; for they know not how severely their darlings may rue for the delay.

But fondness is generally accompanied with an anxiety that magnifies dangers, and renders them an obstacle against measures we should otherwise judge expedient: but there is a fortitude requisite in our dealings with those under our care as well as in our personal concerns, and this is surest founded upon the contemplation of Providence. We know that children are the gift of God, not given for our sakes alone, for they bear their part in the general system, and must undergo whatever fate the interest of the whole shall require: therefore we must not think to have them exempt from accidents, but prepare to rest contented under whatever shall befal, as being well satisfied that the most mysterious dispensations are ordered in perfect wisdom for the best. Nevertheless it behoves us to take all the caution we can against accidents; nor ever to hazard them wantonly, and then we may rest assured that however unfavourable the event may appear, it will turn out in the

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end to some unknown benefit both of ourselves, and of those on whom our cares were bestowed. Nor are they liable to external chances alone, but likewise to suffer many by slips and failures in ourselves; with all our resolution to the contrary, we shall sometimes be negligent, remiss in our cares, and wholly taken up in gratifying our own passions and fancies: it is better we should be apprized of our infirmity before hand, for then we shall be less mortified and disheartened when mistakes do happen, and shall stand more upon the watch to prevent them. For confidence begets carelessness, and he that is too sure of succeeding in any work compleatly, commonly fails in the performance through that very security.

5. But though a steady industry and vigilance be the principal things, they will yield more profitable fruits according as directed by better judgment and information, which being derivable from many quarters, every one may be allowed to add what lights he can to the common stock for the chance of making the road clearer in some of its bearings. There have been too many and too masterly systems of education already compiled, for me to make any improvement upon them; yet since old things repeated in a different manner may sometimes obtain a reconsideration after having

ing been neglected, I may attempt to remind people of what they had overlooked or forgotten, without pretending to instruct them in what they do not know. Nor do I purpose to deal so much in rules and maxims, as in suggesting the particular aims to be had in view in the application of our cares; for having used myself as far as possible to proceed by reason rather than by rule, and seeming to have found benefit in this practice, it is natural to recommend to others what has proved beneficial to myself.

And I cannot help thinking that if the proper point of intention to be pursued upon every occasion could be discerned and borne in mind, common sense would seldom fail of directing to the proper measures for attaining it: for it is easier to see what would prevent the growth of slothfulness, intemperance, impetuosity, and squeamish delicacy, than to remember or be fully sensible of the mischiefs of those evil habits.

In order to proceed with regularity and effect, it will be requisite to have something of a plan containing an ultimate end to be proposed, together with the subordinate aims conducting thereto; the end to be steadily adhered to throughout, but the conducting lines will admit of continual additions and alterations to be made occasionally according

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as there is room for any improvement, or some mischief to be remedied, or some danger to be guarded against. But I conceive, a great deal depends upon the aim and expectations with which parents set out at first, which they generally fix by much too high, yet cannot depart from until some grievous disappointment quite disconcerts, and throws them out of any aim at all. People are apt to think their children nonpareils, the sole object deserving admiration and regard, and depend upon their parts and their own sacacity for making them something extraordinary and supereminent above their equals, expecting that all things and all persons should ply to their interests and desires. By this means they miss of many advantages that might have been procured for them, as being deemed below their notice, and teach them to be selfish, conceited, unreasonable, impatient of contradiction, and fretful under disappointments.

Whereas if every man would consider that other people have their interests and desires as well as he, together with an equal right to pursue them, and believe it possible that some in the world may have apter subjects to work upon together with better skill and management to improve them than himself, he would be then more likely to discern what is attainable in this general competition, and apply his

his endeavours thereto without wasting them upon what is not so. For happiness, the proper ultimate aim of all our schemes, does not lie in comparison, nor is the value of it at all altered by another's possessing more or less: whoever thinks to engross it to himself and his own family will find himself defeated, he may succeed better by aiming attentively at such share of the blessings poured out among mankind as the courses of Providence shall from time to time bring within his reach. Therefore the solid happiness of our offspring in the enjoyments of this life, and due preparation for the next, ought to be made our ultimate aim, by the tendency whereto all our other desires for them ought to be regulated: we may laudably wish them all the good we can reasonably imagine such, but we need not wish all others to fall inferior to them therein, for that has no tendency to their benefit: for as has been shown in a former place, God has so interwoven the interests of mankind, that every one has a personal concern in the happiness of every other, nor can any be compleatly happy until all are so, and each man makes his own advantages more effectually, in proportion as he can contribute to those of his fellow-creatures.

Hence it appears, that to make a child useful is the ready way to make him happy, nor

nor can the one be totally disregarded without failing of the other: therefore one part of our ultimate end to be held constantly in view ought to be the training him in such manner as may render him serviceable to the world, either by helping forward the important uses, or adding to the conveniences, or at least the entertainment of others, according as he is qualified and situated; and even in those many points relative only to his own profit or enjoyment, yet prudence will require us to pursue them so as may render them compatible with those of other persons; for if we think to gain an advantage for him by ways that must prove detrimental to the rest of mankind, we can never hope to succeed; or if we should, the success will be fatal, as drawing grievous mischief after it.

A selfish, encroaching, overreaching temper, suspicion, cunning, and dissimulation are sometimes inculcated through a mistaken policy, because at first sight seeming eminently beneficial to the possessor; but since such qualities must be troublesome and hurtful to whomsoever he has to deal with, they will turn out to his own great damage in the long run.

So that besides a conformity to the usages and characters around us to be regarded for our own sakes that we may know how to steer

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safely and wisely among them, it is necessary likewise to have an eye upon the conformity of interests among mankind, that we may lay our schemes as much as possible in pursuing our own, so as not to clash or interfere with those of any body else; not considering our families as distinct and separate bodies, but as members of the community whereto we belong, coparceners of the blessings distributed among the whole, and entitled to the best we can procure for them without prejudice to the rights of other claimants for so much as they can attain for themselves.

6. Now to obtain our end it is obvious that care must be had both of the body and of the mind, each in its due proportion to be nourished up to the highest perfection the materials nature has put into our hands are capable of, neither of them to be neglected through an injudicious fondness for improving the other: for a constitution enfeebled by intense labour of thought, or an exuberant health without any judgment to guide it, will never make either a happy or a useful man.

As for the growth and health of the body, I shall not attempt to give directions thereupon, as being a matter whereof I have no skill; nor do I apprehend any great skill is wanted for private persons: if there are any natural defects, or weakness, or diseases, recourse

course may be had to the gentlemen of the faculty; and if there are not, the parents themselves will be sufficiently directed by their own sagacity, or the information of their friends and acquaintance, to the proper courses of management, so they be careful to pursue them; therefore instruction is not so needful here, as admonition. They may please then to remember that the vigour and abilities of manhood is the object whereto they are continually to have respect, it is not enough to consult the present ease and accommodations of the child, to keep it plump in good liking and lively, but attention is likewise due to all methods that may strengthen the constitution, purify the blood, render the joints supple, and give it a dexterity in the use of all its limbs and organs of speech; that no ligatures be suffered to retard the circulation, nor shoes to pinch the feet, nor any thing done or omitted by which it may grow lumpish, distorted, or feeble, or be otherwise impaired to its future detriment or uneasiness.

But health and vigour cannot yield their full benefits in a tender, delicate constitution, therefore it is of great advantage to any person to have been brought up in hardiness from his childhood; for this quality depends almost entirely upon custom, which the earlier

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it is begun, the easier and compleater it will be acquired. If we reflect how much we suffer from winds and weathers, how much more liberty a man has and greater choice of employments and pleasures who can take up chearfully with bad accommodations, and thrive upon any diet, we must acknowledge it a desirable thing to be able to do the like: and there are examples enow in the world that show to what degree of hardiness human nature is capable of being trained.

I do not expect that any among those who may be likely to give me the perusal will be able to breed up their children to the hardiness of a porter or highlander, nor if they were able is it fitting they should, because to do this they must inure them to a low and laborious way of living, unsuitable to the station they are to occupy hereafter, and neglect the accomplishments necessary to acquit themselves well therein; especially the girls, in whom a want of complextion and softness of limbs might hinder their advancement. Yet it may be considered that the greatest degree of hardiness is a thing valuable in itself, and well worth the having if it could be attained without inconveniences in other respects, and whoever bears this reflection in mind will be fond of gaining so much of it, as can be done consistently with those

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other respects, watching all opportunities of improving it that are practicable, or convenient in the condition of life wherein he stands.

But the greatest of all absurdities is that of teaching a child to value himself upon his tenderness and delicacy, this is making a glory of imperfections, which he will naturally be prompted to encrease by such instigation: for though in many cases they are excusable, either from defect of constitution, or the manner of living one has been necessarily accustomed to in compliance with the company one has consorted amongst, still they are imperfections. Therefore if a man cannot bear the least fatigue or hardship, nor rest a moment easy without all his conveniences and elegancies about him, though I should not presently think the worse of him upon that account, any more than I should for a broken leg or want of an eye: yet I should think it better and happier for him if he could be delivered from those weaknesses, which good nature and politeness may overlook, but folly alone can take for topics of admiration.

But there is a moderation in all things, which will restrain from forcing lads upon things beyond their natural strength, or dangers to their health: this caution is not much wanted for parents who generally transgress the other way, but young people have sometimes

times destroyed themselves by violent exercises, and the notion that nothing will hurt them; they are commonly led into these dangers by their eagerness in pursuit of something striking strongly upon their fancy, which urges them to trials far beyond any they have experienced before; nor considering that sturdiness is to be acquired gradually by an habitual practice of the methods conductive thereto, and not to be gotten at once by sudden starts whenever they have a present occasion for it. Nor is it a needless caution to time the exercise of those methods rightly, which are then most beneficial when the body is in perfect health: people sometimes when taken with some disorder or feverishness will needs just then resolve upon being stout, and doing as they did at other times, but this is foolhardiness not bravery, which is ever consistent with discretion, and watches the proper seasons for exerting itself, nor will strive against nature when she demands an indulgence, that will take the better effect in recruiting her forces, the less she has been used to it while not wanted.

7. And to lessen the hazards of damage to the health, it will be very material that no fund of mischief be laid in by intemperance, for when the blood abounds in humours and foulnesses they are easily thrown off upon some

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of the nobler parts where they may prove fatal, but when the juices are pure and the circulation free, if some over-fatigue, or cold, or external accident should happen to raise a disorder, nature will soon work it off again without much trouble. She has given us appetite both for our sustenance and entertainment, the business is to preserve appetite in that genuine state wherein she gave it, for then it will answer both purposes most effectually: but there are a thousand causes continually surrounding us from our infancy which tend to pervert and vitiate appetite by grafting unnatural cravings upon it.

When children cut their teeth, the uneasiness of the gums urges them to put every thing into their mouths; whatever they can lick or mumble from thence they swallow, especially if it have any sweet, or salt, or piquant taste that amuses them. As soon as they can run about, people are continually cramming them with cakes and sugar plumbs; when at school, the example of their companions prompts them to get all the pies, and fruit, and trash they can lay hands on: and when they come into the world, the world is perpetually labouring by its sympathy, by its fashions, and its exhortations, to extend appetite beyond its natural compass; it is made a genteel accomplishment to have a taste for

elegances, curiosities, and dainties; variety of all kinds, the tricks of cookery, dishes of tempting fruit, and different wines, made obligatory by the jovial custom of toasts, are applied at and after meals to stimulate to excess, and even between meals people think they cannot enjoy one another's company without something to eat or drink.

I am not for breaking through prevailing customs as being a vain and unwarrantable attempt; on the contrary, I have before laid down compliance as a virtue, and recommended a conformity with the world we live in as a principal object to be had in view in forming our schemes; therefore I would not wish any man to resolve upon never eating but when he is hungry, nor taking a bit more than nature requires, for as the world goes, and as he himself has been accustomed, he would by so doing lose more than half the comforts of society, and half the pleasures of life. My purpose is only to remind parents of the dangers hanging over their children from the cradle, that they may use their vigilance to guard against the mischiefs of them from the very first, to beware of laying temptations in their way, to inculcate a love of sobriety as a valuable quality, to make a point of honor in having the command of their cravings, and to teach them the difference between compliance

pliance and feebleness of temper, drawn any way by the slightest attraction without consent of the will.

I know it is impossible to keep appetite from ever transgressing bounds, and therefore there is the more need of care and contrivance to restrain it within bounds so far as is practicable, that it may never make excursions of itself beyond what the due compliance with modes and customs have rendered unavoidable. It seems a desirable thing if it were feasible to find play things or other amusements for children, but never give them any thing to eat merely by way of entertainment when not wanted for their support or health: one must not expect this regimen can be followed rigorously, but it will be prudent to approach as near to it, and deal out those amusements of the taste as sparingly, as possible.

I have indeed said just now, that nature gives us appetite for our entertainment as well as for our sustenance; and when we reflect on the continual return of her calls three times every day, it will be found that no inconsiderable part in the enjoyment of life consists in eating: but to have it a real entertainment we must not take pains to make it such, for there is no sauce like hunger, and whatever contrivances we practise to

supply its place lose us more pleasure than they give. Pleasure shows her coquetish disposition more in this article than any other, while we remain indifferent to her she will court us daily of her own accord, but if we betray an eagerness for her favours, she will turn her back upon us, and allow us no more of them than we can extort from her by arts and contrivances, which must be perpetually varied to obtain even a momentary delight. Nor will she suffer us to return without much difficulty to our former tranquil state, for people by frequent cramming stretch their stomach beyond its natural tone which then will crave more than it can digest; so that if afterwards they would learn moderation, they cannot, but still eat too much without knowing it, because having corrupted that guide which ought to set the bounds, they have no rule to ascertain when the call of nature is satisfied.

8. There is likewise an intemperance of sleep very necessary to be guarded against, because extremely apt to creep upon young people, especially in this cold climate where it gives a smart pain to jump out of a warm bed into the winter air: therefore this is a piece of hardiness which cannot be inculcated too early by all the means conducive thereto, whether advice, injunction, or shame. While

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under the eye of parents and masters, they may be kept constantly to a certain hour, which will make it the easier for them to persevere afterwards, when gotten from under that controul: if no disorder or accident intervene, they will need no more than one nap which custom will have brought to terminate of itself just at the usual hour; and then if they turn upon the other ear to take a second, they should be taught to look upon it as an intemperance, not at all redounding to their credit. But this second nap is not so bad as lying awake, than which nothing tends more to foul the blood, to sharpen the juices, to exhaust the spirits, to unbrace the solids, to heat the blood, to stupify the understanding, to destroy hardiness and produce other inconveniences of very mischievous consequence. Let them seek their amusements elsewhere, but reserve the bed as a place appropriated to sleep and sickness: for if it were possible to live without either of those suspensions of the enjoyments in life, nobody would ever think of making a bed a part of his furniture.

A regularity of hours, so far as is practicable, deserves adherence in this article, and so it does in the article of eating, and all other calls of Nature, who may be gently bent into any course by Custom, her second self, but cannot be suddenly put out of the ways she has

has been inured to, without great stress upon her forces and hazard of impairing them, nor can she move so vigorously and easily as when having some steady course to proceed in: for the human machine, as well as a watch, will be spoiled by perpetually setting forwards and backwards, by hurrying on, or stopping, or disturbing its movements.

I know there are some professions which require a frequent departure from rules, and every man may sometimes find occasions wherein it will be expedient and necessary to deviate a little; therefore where there is any thing of this sort in view, it will be prudent to prepare nature for such deviations by practising them beforehand, that she may receive the less shock from them when they become necessary. For a pliancy to necessity and expedience is both commendable and profitable, nor would I have a man so hedged into his own ways, that he should be unable to stir an inch to the right or left upon any consideration; but though he may be ready to make an excursion upon good reason, he need never suffer himself to be put out of his course by any humour, or carelessness, or indolence, but adhere steadily to it so far as his station in life and the circumstances of his situation shall render feasible and convenient.

But it will be very difficult to get a man from

from his pillow till he is quite tired of it, if he has nothing to do when he is up; for he will be apt to think that if he must be idle, he may as well be idle abed as elsewhere; I do not say this is a good reason, but it will certainly weigh as such: thus Sloth is the child of Idleness, continually nourished by it, and would die away of itself if the latter could be removed. Therefore it would be of great benefit to young people to contrive if possible, that they should always have some employment to turn to immediately upon rising, some task enjoined which if they dispatch early they shall have the more time allowed them afterwards for their own amusements; or, which is better, something to their liking that they may apply to with pleasure, and will start foremost in their thoughts as soon as awake. For where inclination can be pressed into the service, it will do its business more effectually than fear or authority, and will continue to operate afterwards when they are gotten from under the verge of authority: for having experienced the benefit of this management, they may be induced to practise the like upon themselves, and choose something every night for which they find an eagerness, either work or diversion, sometimes one and sometimes the other, for their first morning employment.

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Nor is it enough to restrain sleep within due bounds, if the waking hours be suffered to dream away in a torpid indolence not much different from sleep: it is of great service even to the health to cultivate a spirit of activity, continually exerting itself in some exercise, either of body or mind. The former is more necessary for the animal machine, and for that reason deserves to be particularly regarded for such as are destined to follow some sedentary profession, that they may be inured by early custom never to sit still with their hands before them in the intervals of business, but to move briskly in their common actions, and daily to practise such recreations as may keep the circulation to its proper flow, and prevent ill humours from gathering in the blood.

Yet an activity of mind too is not useless to the body, there being such an intimate connection between the grosser and finer organizations, that irregularities in the one will not fail to produce their like in the other: there are some who love to sit in a corner, building castles in the air, musing upon improbabilities soothing to their fancy and wishes of what can never happen, or perhaps upon something that has vexed them, or the imaginary dread of mischiefs never likely to befal: though this may seem an intenseness

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of thought wherein the mind is rather too busy than too remiss, it is in reality not an activity, but passiveness bound down to an object rising mechanically in the imagination. Tempers of this cast have a perpetual listlessness and dilatoriness; they apply to nothing readily, they do nothing currently, but want to put off every thing another minute, even their meals, their diversions, and their beloved nightly repose. Such stagnation of thought, become habitual, must inevitably introduce a like stagnation of the vital juices, fret and waste the spirits, generate fearfulness and melancholy, and impair the health more than will easily be imagined.

This mischief then deserves an early attention to obviate, the more because difficult to be discovered in its beginnings, for we cannot penetrate into the thoughts to see what passes there: but before grown inveterate, it will show itself in the actions, or rather in the inertness of disposition, and then no time should be lost to cure it, nor any means omitted that can be devised to teach children to find an issue for their thoughts by running them in current trains, and to take pleasure in making good dispatch of every thing, as well in their tasks as their amusements.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgot, that there is a contrary extreme, which urges to make

make more haste than good speed, a continual hurry and agitation never satisfied but when in motion, an impatience to do things before the proper time, and eagerness to dispatch them at once by a violent exertion, an over solicitude for the success of measures and a vexation upon any rub happening to fall in their way. This temper likewise is unfavourable to the health, for mischief will ensue upon precipitating the circulation of blood and animal spirits, as well as upon retarding it; a calm and steady alertness flowing in one uniform tenour, always brisk and lively, never anxious nor trepidating, is the desirable point to be pursued. Therefore we must so labour to cure one evil as not to incur another, and keep an eye upon Scylla while we endeavour to steer clear of Charybdis. I know it is a difficult matter, perhaps impossible to hit exactly the golden mean, but we shall come the nearer by being apprised of the dangers on either hand; though I think the former is the greater, the more frequently fallen into, and harder to be cured. The best can be done must be by diligence in watching the approaches of either, and applying the proper remedy as soon as they are perceived.

9. Thus much for the body, which in earliest infancy requires more attention than the mind;

mind; but the latter will soon demand a preference, and may be begun upon even in the first year of life, by helping the little faculties to open, and laying the foundation of that most valuable quality which will stand them instead ever after, I mean, a pliancy of desire. For children naturally cry for what they want, but it is of greater importance than nurses and mothers are willing to own, to let them never extort any thing by this means, yet not to refuse them roughly or with an angry countenance, but smiling, and amusing them with something else, sometimes even taking away their playthings in like manner; for this practice will save them a great deal of trouble at other times, when they happen, as they frequently will do, to catch up things that would hurt them, which then you must take away: for discipline cannot be begun too early, provided it be done gently but steadily without intervals of remissness.

The same reason will direct to prevent the constant presence of their nurses from becoming necessary to them, that they may bear at any time to see them go out of the room and be left contentedly in other people's hands, more especially your own; for you cannot be too early in gaining their acquaintance and liking, of which you may make excellent use for their benefit. If little hurts or dangers befal,

befal, never set up an outcry, for that will frighten them, but try to jest it off, for though they cannot enter into your jest, they will be kept in humour by the pleasantness of your looks and gestures. When in pain with their teeth or otherwise, give them all the relief and ease you can, but do not bemoan them nor put on a disconsolate woeful countenance, which would teach them to double the evil by grieving it: sympathy catches sooner than commonly taken notice of, and indeed is the only language intelligible to children, therefore you had need be very cautious what ideas you convey by this channel; as pains and troubles accompany every state of life, it is of great advantage for the infant mind to be inured to bear them easily.

Playthings will be readily admitted, because every body sees they divert the child, but present amusement is not the sole object I would have in view; wherefore I should choose such as have some movements belonging to them, will take to pieces, and bear being banged about without breaking: for they will serve best to exercise their little limbs and sagacity, which you may assist by gradually showing him how to manage them in proportion as he is capable of imitating you. Nor need you always resort to the shops for materials, a little hammer, a coffee mill,

mill, or the bell trigger will do to show him how they are to be used, or your penknife sheath for him to pull open and shut again. I have sometimes tried to throw a napkin over their heads, thrust a plaything into their sleeve, or put them under some little difficulty from which they can extricate themselves: the women always interpose immediately upon those occasions, which I conceive tends to make the child helpless, and dependent upon others for its relief in every trifling instance; but my view is to teach him to help himself, and struggle with difficulties of which he will meet with numbers when he comes into the wide world: but then care must be taken not to tease him in these experiments, which therefore I would never suffer to be practised upon him by other children, if there are any bigger in the house.

You may likewise lay him upon the ground to sprawl about as he can; if you are afraid of daubing his frock, you may spread a sheet for him to crawl upon, and if that be too fine to touch the filthy carpet you may lay a coarser between: when he is tired do not take him up instantly but let him wait till the second or third call. Many little devices may be thought of to put him upon striving for himself and acquiring a dexterity in the use of his hands and his feet, nor perhaps would it

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be useless if he were taught to make a variety of noises instead of squawling perpetually in the same note, as this might give him a better command over the muscles of his mouth when he comes to learn articulate sounds, and help to prevent lisping, stammering, and other such like imperfections: for every organ of the machine, the earlier and the more various play it is inured to, the more pliant it will be, and the easier to be managed.

10. When the child can run alone, and prattle, the faculties begin to spread and afford a little larger scope for improving them: care will then be wanting to make him speak plain, to pronounce words of similar sound distinctly, to understand the difference between those of the same sound, and to know the meaning of what he says. When he comes to read there will be a difficulty to prevent his getting into a tone, which every body learns more or less at first, and not one in a thousand can wholly get rid of, all their lives after. The most likely way to avoid or to cure it, seems to be by writing down some sentences that you may have used yourself or should be likely to use upon particular occasions in common discourse, in joking and merriment, in anger, in expostulation, in importuning, in compassionating, in telling a story, in relating an historical fact, in describ-

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ing something grand, magnificent or surprising: and teaching him to read them exactly in the same manner as you spoke them: for by this means he may learn the natural emphasis and inflections of voice belonging to the several styles, the familiar, the humorous, the pathetic, the narrative, and the sublime.

The object now to be had in view will be to encourage the growth of his faculties, to whet his sagacity, and begin to store his mind with such little sparks of knowledge as he is capable of receiving: for which purpose it will be expedient to gain his confidence and friendship, that he may apply to you of his own accord, not be uneasy in your company, nor want to get away among the servants, that he may have no scruple of telling you what he has been doing when out of sight, nor stand under perpetual dread of your displeasure. Yet it will be necessary to preserve in him a dependence and reverence, which you may better do by steadiness than sternness, not perpetually constraining him in his motions nor interrupting his plays, but rather assisting his contrivance in the prosecution of them: laying as few commands as possible, but always enforcing those you do lay with a peremptory mildness, and so far as feasible, pointing out the reasons and expedience of them. If correction be needful it must not

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be administered in anger, nor without an expression of unwillingness, and showing the necessity of it for prevention of worse consequences.

When he plies you with questions do not discourage him, for curiosity well turned is the main spring of knowledge: he will probably ask more than you have skill to answer, if this be the case, acknowledge it honestly, and do not save your own credit by chiding or laughing at him for his impertinence; if the thing be above his comprehension, or not proper to be known, or too trifling to deserve pains, show him that calmly; if none of these obstacles interfere, explain the matter clearly to his capacity, or which is better, where it can be done, follow Socrates's method by leading him dexterously to find out the proper answer for himself.

As this business of dealing with a child's curiosity is a very difficult point to manage, it will be well worth the parent's while to study it as a science, and prepare himself beforehand for the exercise: for by this way you may instil more instruction than by precept or document, because while you give the child lessons perhaps his head is running a woolgathering, so that not a word of them sticks, but when asking questions his attention is open, and nothing of what you can pour

pour will run over. There is the like advantage in employing little plays, feats of dexterity, tricks upon cards, bits of paper to be disposed in different figures, prints, stories, riddles, and such like, for whetting his ingenuity: nor will it be useless sometimes to criticize his expressions and try to puzzle him, provided the attack be no greater than he can defend himself against, or that you help him out if he be gravelled, for then he will not be disheartened by it, but learn to speak warily, correctly, expressively, and pertinently, and to think of what he says.

But every thing is not to be made a play of, either in childhood or maturity of age, for those who resolve to live a whole life of amusement are the most useless, and generally the most unhappy of mortals: therefore one principal view must be to inure him early to something of task and discipline, to train him gradually to bear close application: and so far to consult his ease, as it can be procured by giving him a taste for work, by teaching him dispatch in it, and inspiring him with an ardor for the proficiency to be attained by it: for the surest road to ease and pleasure is not by flying labour, but by learning to take delight in so much as the health and forces will bear.

Nevertheless, different subjects require very

different management, which makes it behoveful to observe carefully the talents and disposition of the child, that you may know what he is capable of, and which way his genius points, what irregularities he is liable to, and provide against them in time, whether he be rash or timorous, impetuous or sluggish, to improve nature where she is favourable, and amend her where she is deficient, to form the behaviour in conversing among strangers, that it may be clear both of rudeness and bashfulness.

Regard should likewise be had to the profession or way of life he is intended to follow, that he may have such sentiments inculcated, and be accustomed to such courses of employment, as are suitable or preparatory thereto. A habit of keeping account of expences, and a readiness and plainness of style in epistolary correspondence will be serviceable in almost all stations: it is of more importance to be regular than minute in the former, and in the latter to be clear, easy, and lively than to be witty, or if this be aimed at, it is better hit by the practice of catching such diverting thoughts as occur, than by pumping for them. This caution of accommodating the first years of life to those which are to follow, seems particularly needful for gentlemen who design their younger children

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for trades or occupations wherein they are to get their livelihood; for without very prudent management, the elegances, the superfluities, and round of pleasures they are suffered to partake in at home, will utterly incapacitate them for a life of parsimony and application to business.

For lads intended to go upon the line of learning, it has been disputed whether a school or a private tutor be more eligible; the discussion of this point seems needless for general use because few can afford the latter, and perhaps there are some parents from whose example and manner of living little good is to be gotten at home, so they had better put their children into other hands. Where there is a robust constitution, good principles well riveted and a sturdiness of temper not easily wound about by the incitements of a companion, I conceive a large school may be best; but if the frame be tender, the inclinations suspicious, or the mind too flexible by any impulse, I should prefer a small one, because there he may be more narrowly observed.

When delivered up to the master, things must be left to his management, for it would be presumptuous to teach a professor any thing in his own science; yet I may offer by way of Query, whether it would not be better

to exercise children's memory upon things, more than upon words, and instead of those burdensome tasks usually set them upon repetition days, which seem needful only to qualify them for stage players, to put them upon repeating the substance of what lessons they have learned the week before, preserving some remarkable words and turns of expression, or passages which have a particular beauty or energy. And likewise whether among the Theses given to declaim upon, it might not be profitable sometimes to choose those wherein the boys will be heartily interested, in order to assimilate their exercises as near as possible to the real business of life; such as whether law, divinity, physic, the army, the sea, merchandise or trade be the more eligible profession, and for what characters, and to persons in what situation of circumstances: what are the advantages or conveniences of the county each boy belongs to, whether cricket or prison bar, shuttle cock or trap ball be the better amusement: why holidays are expedient, and what proportion of them is most suitable.

If they have had disputes among one another, or entertained any favorite notion either on morality, behaviour, politics, nature, dress, pleasure, elegance, or other subject, each may be set to support his own by an exercise: and

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many times several exercises may be branched out from one beginning, for it is common in disputation for one point to generate another, But whatever topic they maintain, it is expedient they should be used to employ such arguments only as really weigh with themselves, for the common way of filling up a page with a flow of plausible words, imitated from books, perhaps without having ever comprehended the force and pertinence of them in the originals, can teach them at best only to amuse or silence a gainsayer, but will never help to affect, or convince any body. I know it is necessary upon many occasions in life to use arguments to the man which you do not feel the force of yourself, but then they ought always to be such as you should be willing to act upon, if you were of his sentiments in other respects. This practice of addressing to the ear rather than to the heart or the understanding, is I conceive the occasion of so much emptiness and superfluity abounding in the discourses of mankind, and that they work so little upon one another in their conferences: and what is worse, leads them to deceive themselves by concealing from them the true motives of their actions, and palming upon them for such, whatever false colouring occurs, that might pass for a justification.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, a school is not to be depended upon for every thing; sound principles of morality, discretion, and common prudence, good manners, and politeness, and knowledge of the world are not to be expected from thence; if the master be well skilled in all these matters, of which there is a great chance, he will not have leisure nor opportunity to teach them: therefore it is incumbent upon the parent to lay the foundation well beforehand, to improve the growth of them, and correct errors that have insinuated from time to time, as it is presumed the boy will come home at breakings up.

If the parent have still retained the confidence of his child, so as to be regarded in the light of his best friend and counsellor, he may get from him an ingenuous account of the characters and behaviour of his school-fellows, together with his own transactions among them, and instruct him how to manage with them so as neither to impose nor be imposed upon, to practise art and reserve for self-defence, but never for overreaching; to be neither tame nor quarrelsome, to preserve a spirit of charity, of honour, of equity, and decorum in all his dealings, even his squabbles and contentions, to extricate himself out of difficulties, to escape anxiety in competitions, to bear hardships contentedly that cannot

not be remedied, and rest easy under disappointments; thereby qualifying him to bustle hereafter through a turbulent and contentious world. He may draw off his observation from external appearances to the qualities and disposition of the mind, and teach him to judge of persons not as children ordinarily do, by the colour of the eyes, features of the face, make of the limbs, gestures or tones of voice, for this will preserve him from fantastic likings and aversions, and prove of signal service to him in his intercourse with mankind, especially when he comes to think of the girls. To which improvements it may not be too trifling to add that of teaching him a good seat upon a horse, which a boy may easily learn, but a man never can, though he may often regret the want of it both for his uses and his pleasures.

12. The morals of a child cannot be begun upon too early, and the corner stone of our building must be laid in Prudence; this then is the ground work from whence all other strokes in forming his character are to branch out. But to prevent mistakes arising from the uncertainty of language, wherein we are forced to use our words in different senses upon several occasions, I must give notice that Prudence here is not to be understood of a sagacity and penetration of judgment or

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improvement of the faculties, of which something has been already mentioned in the foregoing sections. For these are indeed desirable things but no part of the moral character; and so are a clear eye, a good ear, a sound digestion desirable things, yet nobody ever ranked them among the virtues.

Prudence then considered as a virtue, is nothing more than a quick sensibility and readiness of apprehending distant pleasure and pain in equally strong colours with the present: and this is the root from which all the other virtues, as well moral as theological, grow; for what is fortitude, temperance, and justice, but Prudence under pains and dangers, allurements of appetite and impulses of self-interest? What influence can Faith in the divine attributes have upon him, who cares for nothing beyond the enjoyments of sense? how can Hope find any room to operate, where the desires are wholly centered in the present moment? or what inducement has he, in whom they are so centered, to Charity, when he can make a present advantage by doing some great damage to his neighbour? But this groundwork of morality is not given immediately by nature, she only opens the passages from whence it may be drawn forth by careful cultivation: the appetites and desires shooting up spontaneously

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carry the thoughts a little beyond present sensation, the business then is to watch their growth, to check their luxuriances, and conduct them gently by practicable steps to reach the most distant futurity, for their ministry we must employ to attain our important purposes.

But we must not attempt to make large strides at once, for children are incapable of extending their concern to any length of time; next week is an age to them, their appetites and desires fasten upon gratifications near at hand, their fears and aversions are touched with mischiefs apprehended just impending over them, and those impulses may be skilfully turned into such courses from whence a further good progress may be made afterwards. Pleasure is their first sole allurement and most constant motive of action, from whence in a little time will grow a regard to use, and then to honour, by proper management in making them observe the subserviency of useful things to their pleasures, and the advantage of estimation for obtaining a supply of their wants.

The first use they will be sensible of is that of having the assistance of their parents, and their first ambition to stand well in their good graces, for they very soon begin to know when they have their friends about them, and

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receive encouragement from plauditory gestures or tones of voice, before they can understand your words. This propensity then deserves to be cultivated, and that care be taken to lead them into the proper measures by which the object of it is to be attained; nor ever encourage them in things which you must break them of afterwards, but rather in such whereof you foresee a good use may be made another time. Yet it is a very imperfect idea they can have of use, while depending altogether upon the help of others for every trifle they want: therefore it deserves to be made your constant aim to lead them into the way of helping themselves, to teach them the uses of their little powers, and engage them to provide for the amusements of the next hour, or the next day; stretching their views still further and further, as you find they can be extended, and making them observe the benefits they reap from the former cares, or any little skill they have taken pains to acquire, in order to encourage them to repeat the like again. By this means they may be brought into a desire of things and accomplishments useful without prospect of the particular pleasures to result therefrom: and they may be said to have made a beginning in the progress towards Prudence by having a concern for objects not immediately touching their senses.

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The desire of being in good credit with you may with proper management by help of sympathy and exhortations judiciously applied, be transferred upon the practices the child sees conducive to gain it, and it is very material this translation should be made compleatly, for it will furnish him with a moral sense, make him be touched with things laudable and blameable, feeling a self-satisfaction in the one, and a compunction on falling into the other. He will then regard things not solely as pleasant or disgustful, but as right or wrong, and have a guidance of his own to keep him steady when your eye is not over him, which is a necessary provision for his future safeguard. For he must, some time or other, go from under your hands to act for himself, and the earlier he can be trained and gradually prepared to do this, he will be the more expert afterwards. But great care is requisite to fix the moral sense and the idea of usefulness upon proper objects, for in proportion as you can do this, you need only give directions, but may trust to the child himself for the execution: and it will be both beneficial and encouraging to trust him so far as you can safely, for liberty is the great privilege as well as the great danger of human nature, nor can there be a more useful science, especially in this country so fertile

fertile and even luxuriant of liberty, than to know how to use it well, so that it may prove a real blessing, unalloyed by the mischiefs consequent upon the abuse of it.

13. I have laid down in former Chapters that honour grows from use, and is there best deserved where it may be most usefully applied: for though all useful things do not gain honour, yet it belongs of right to none that are not nearly, or remotely so. If a lad makes a clever declamation upon the exit of Cato at Utica, it may be of no importance now-a-days to have that point well discussed, but the ingenuity with which he has handled it may be of great service to himself, and the world too, by enabling him to manage other points of moment, therefore he deserves applause because it will be useful as an incentive to diligence in exercising his ingenuity.

I apprehend it very material to inure him to bear in mind this reference of honour to use, because it will direct to fix the sense of it upon the proper objects; for this sense is not innate nor distinguishes its objects naturally, like the eye and ear, but learned by instruction and sympathy, and may be turned, and frequently is turned upon very different and opposite objects, one man utterly despising what another values himself highly upon. Hence it appears that applause ought never

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to be bestowed wantonly, nor for the mere present amusement of yourself or your child, for it is an excellent engine for working upon the humane machine, too precious to be employed upon trifles: the business then is to consider what courses are most conducive to his future enjoyment and happiness, or to render him serviceable to the world, and to place the point of honour upon those, especially if you find he has no other incitements to pursue them, or there is some inclination drawing strongly the contrary way; for the great use of honour is to raise an ardor for things indifferent before, and overcome the opposition of indolence, appetite, and passion; what we stand already inclined to do, or clearly discern the use of towards procuring something we ardently desire, needs no further stimulus to provoke us.

There are some measures of conduct universally beneficial in all stations of life, therefore they deserve the incitement of praise in proportion as wanted: but some are more particularly needful for several professions, as the soldier, the scholar, the merchant, the mechanic, the gentleman, the statesman; therefore regard must be had to the way of life wherein your child is likely to be engaged, and his self-approbation directed to those sentiments and qualifications, which will stand him

him in most stead therein. When you have pitched upon what things are laudable, and settled the degree of excellence among them, great care is requisite to keep the moral sense attentive to the things themselves, and from running into a comparison of persons, that there may be a strong desire of excellence, but none of excelling. You may with good profit set examples of laudable qualities before a young person's eyes, in order to give him a livelier idea of them, but you may inspire him with an ardor of acquiring the like benefit and pleasure of possessing them, without thought of rivalship or superiority over the person who has them.

This I take to be very important, and at the same time a very difficult point to hit, the two desires being so generally confounded together in men's minds, and the one so very apt to degenerate into the other. The examples and discourses of the world, the necessity of rivalship frequently occuring in cases where there are many competitors for a prize which one only can obtain, contribute to fix the idea of excellence in that of surpassing others, so that it is become a nice distinction, which few can readily enter into, to separate them. One can scarce find expressions of applause or exhortation, that do not convey something of comparison or rival-

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ship to the imagination; and it is generally insisted on, that you cannot raise a sense of honour unless by first raising a spirit of emulation and eminence in some quality or other. This perhaps may be true as the world goes, though I apprehend it possible in theory to manage otherwise; but if you find it impracticable to gain your point without this expedient, still it will be advisable to employ it sparingly, not a jot further than absolutely necessary, endeavouring to turn the sense of honour upon things laudable in themselves, that is, upon such as may appear so without reference to any body else possessing them in a higher, or lower degree.

Since then there is such perpetual danger from all quarters of having the moral sense warped to a false direction, and we ourselves are so apt to mislead it insensibly when we think of nothing less, there will need all our vigilance, contrivance, and industry, to keep it steady in a right course, as being a matter of the utmost consequence. For how much soever the desire of excellence and that of excelling be blended together, so as to form one and the same idea in most people's apprehension, they are shown manifestly different by the contrary consequences they produce, as a tree is known by its fruits. From the fondness for excelling naturally grow

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vanity, pride, ambition, jealousy, envy, contention, calumny, petulance, and selfishness; Charity can never bear ingrafting upon this stock, for the man whose passion lies in surpassing, has a separate interest from that of all mankind, whom he must look upon with an eye of envy, rivalship, and contempt, and therefore can never heartily love them.

On the contrary, a glowing ardor for things excellent is the great incentive and cherisher of all the virtues, and all valuable accomplishments; for though virtue be profitable, the profit of it generally lies too remote to be discerned, or to touch us sensibly, but it is the self-approbation accompanying that carries us briskly on the progress, and renders the exercises of it a present reward. Where there is a true love of excellence, there prudence, discretion, diligence, charity, equity will be readily entertained, as things supremely excellent; whatever is so in any degree will appear proportionably amiable in our eyes wherever found, so that we shall rejoice to behold, and stand ever ready to encrease it in others, as well as in ourselves. We shall regard the necessary competitions and contentions, and contrary attractions of the world around us as so many trials and temptations sent to exercise this principal virtue, using all

all our skill and diligence to manage among them, so as that it may gather strength by the opposition.

14. Nothing contributes so much to inspire the love of excelling as an opinion of excelling, which grows up almost unavoidably in children from the manner of their being treated; they see the parents anxious for their welfare, the family contriving to divert them, the visitors obliging, and the servants obsequious, all the cares and all the thoughts they can take notice of are wholly centered upon themselves; from hence if good care be not taken, they will slide insensibly into a notion of their being the sole object worthy regard, which being riveted in them by continual humouring, when they come out into the world they will still conceit themselves precious creatures, become partial, overbearing, and unsympathizing, expect all the world should bend to their humours, and regard every minute failure therein as an insupportable injury.

In order to obviate this mischief, which will sprout up naturally unless timely checked, it will be expedient in the first place, where there are several children to preserve an exact impartiality in your dealings between them, making them sensible of one another's rights, and ready to allow one ano-

thers claims; then to let them see that you have other cares upon your hands wherein they have no concern, that other people have their several interests with an equal right to pursue them, and inure them gradually to entertain a sentiment of justice even towards strangers, and persons they do not like. It will be necessary to keep them from consorting with low company, not by giving them a contempt, but by representing that they will learn thereby a behaviour and language unsuitable to themselves, though very proper and becoming for persons who are to live and labour in a cottage: for you may point out the different qualifications requisite for different ways of life, without dwelling upon the superiority of one above another. But especially beware of servants instilling the prodigious importance of master or miss beyond all others of their inches, which they will be apt to do through mere indiscretion or ignorance: you may soon discover this by the prattle of the children, who love to repeat what they hear, and then your helping hand will be wanting to apply the proper remedy.

Nevertheless, together with a concern for the rights of other persons, you must not omit to lead them into a wariness and steadiness in the maintenance of their own: and

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that they may more willingly receive your instructions, apprize them to expect frequent opposition in the world, as well from the unreasonableness of some, as the misapprehensions of others, that they may strive to ward off the mischiefs of both by their sagacity and resolution, rather than by anger or fretting, which would contribute nothing to help them. As you find them capable, teach them to observe the difference of characters both on the good and bad side; for there is a mixture in all men, as also a secret bias making them partial to their own interests and desires without knowing it, this therefore they must guard against even in their friends, yet without taking distate against them for a human infirmity: nor must they be hasty or violent either in their friendships or aversions, yet not prone to suspicion, but keeping their eyes open, nor ever giving themselves up to an implicit confidence in any.

15. The branches of learning chosen to put them upon, must be regulated by their genius and capacities, by the opportunities you have of improving them, and the particular station of life whereto they are destined: remembering to cultivate those most carefully which will serve the important uses of life, and teaching to place their credit on making a progress therein, regarding such as will be

useful to them for their general commerce in the world, as well as for their private occupations. For courses of life requiring much application of thought, I conceive a little mathematics will be eminently serviceable, because nothing helps so much to closeness of attention, exactness of observation, clearness of reasoning, and acuteness in finding out the minute steps by which one truth introduces another. To which by way of counterpoise may be joined history, biography, and whatever lets one into the knowledge of men, manners, and usages; because this will enable them to render abstraction visible, and the discoveries of speculation applicable to the real uses of life.

Nevertheless the ornamental accomplishments, so far as there is room for them without breaking in upon the others, deserve not to be neglected, for they have their uses too. They furnish engagement for the time, filling up the spaces which otherwise would be worse employed, they find matter for the judgment to work upon, exercise the faculties, and keep them steady to one regular pursuit; they procure credit to the possessor, make men sociable by being able to give mutual entertainment, and thereby introduce opportunities of doing one another more important service by bringing them into better confi-

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dence and knowledge of their reciprocal wants. Though they terminate only in pleasure, yet the amusements of life when to be had without an after reckoning, are an object well worthy the striving for: but having entertainment only for their object, they can be ranked no higher than as manly playthings, therefore no man is entitled to claim a merit upon his being a connoisseur, or having an exquisite taste in any of the polite arts, unless so far as he esteems it meritorious that he does not still continue a child: and it may be observed that those who do make a merit of them, are always infected with a strong tincture of the desire of excelling.

Nevertheless, if this notion of merit can be kept clear of, they will approach nearer to something of real merit, and may claim a resemblance with virtue herself: for as virtue ever prefers the most general and most durable good, so these sciences of pleasure conduct to the most general and most durable entertainment. Every simpleton knows what he likes now, but the man of taste alone can tell him what he shall like by and by, and what other folks will like. If you build a house or lay out a garden upon your own fancy, you may be prodigiously delighted with it while new, yet in a little time disgusted with some blemishes, or find some inconveniences

veniences you did not think of; but apply to the connoisseur and he will choose you a situation and give you a plan that you shall never be tired of, nor meet with any who do not behold it with approbation and pleasure. Besides, as imagination is capable of acquiring many more tastes than nature gave her, it requires art to know beforehand, and conduct her into what tastes will afford the strongest and most sensible relish.

Let it be remembered notwithstanding, that those arts are not expedient for every body: many a young tradesman has been ruined by his taste for elegance, and many a young lawyer spoilt by an exquisite judgment, or the opinion of it, in poetry and dramatic performances: therefore they are very dangerous to people in business who do not want engagement for their time in the duties of their profession, from which those other engagements would prove a fatal avocation. Lads intended to get their own livelihood had better be kept close to the science of doing that, and serving the public therein, than permitted to study the science of pleasure.

16. You cannot be too careful to study their tempers in order to take the full benefit of a promptitude to any thing commendable, and to rectify whatever you find amiss: if they

they be sly, cunning, and crafty, to inculcate openness and sincerity; if carelessness, to teach them caution, if sluggish, to spur up their activity; if impetuous, to moderate their ardor; if obstinate, to bring them flexible by methods, the gentler that will do, the better: if volatile, to fix them in some steadiness Nor can you be too vigilant to watch the sprouting of evil weeds that may start up in them from time to time; if you perceive them inclinable to lying, tricking, drinking, gaming, wastefulness, contemptuousness, envy, or spite, those evil weeds must be nipt in the bud, or it will be too late to apply a remedy when they are grown inveterate; for it is too true a proverb, that what is bred in the bone will never out of the flesh; therefore the malady must be cured early, before it penetrates to the bone.

There is one thing very needful to be well guarded, and that is the purity of their manners and sentiments; this is the more difficult to secure, because you cannot caution them particularly what to avoid without suggesting and perhaps raising incentives to the means of offence. The only method is by guarding all the avenues leading remotely thereto, without letting them see the reasons of your caution, by making them leave their pillow as soon as awake, finding them constant em-

ployment either of task or play, and keeping them out of company that might be dangerous or indiscreet. Nor is it enough to prevent the rise of evil motions in the heart, without attending likewise to check the luxuriances of the good, for they may become evil too by their excess: desire or affection is the great spring of our movements, without which we could make no progress in any course, nor find a preference in one thing above another; but desire too much fostered is apt to corrupt into a passion which differs from it only in degree of vehemence, for passion is nothing else than an extravagant desire. Therefore it is highly expedient to observe the growth of inclination, that it may never rise above its pitch, and for that purpose to cultivate as great variety of them as you can, that they may moderate and balance one another: for the more objects we can affect the larger scope we shall have for gratification, and the choice of them will lie more under the controul of reason and discipline.

But passions can never be numerous because they engross so much of the mind as to leave but little room for competitors, and for one gratification they meet with, they lose us a thousand others which must all be sacrificed to their interests: for a man under impulse of any passion cares for nothing else, nor

nor can turn his hand with relish to any thing that does not immediately coincide therewith; a young lad deeply smitten retains no gust of his former diversions; neglected Tray and Pointer lie, and coveys unmolested fly. Therefore if you perceive an uncommon eagerness rising in a child, endeavour to stop it forthwith, not by direct contradiction unless when you can find no means of diverting his thoughts some other way.

The like with what has been said of desire, may be applied to dislike and aversion, which always contains a desire of avoiding the object disgustful, and will degenerate sooner into a passion, because evil strikes stronger upon the apprehension than good, and when both accost together, the bitter of the one quite evaporates the sweetness of the other. The most common and most pernicious of the repulsive passions that urge the mind to fly their object is fear, which is an excess of caution corrupting that salutary quality into an arrant poison: for caution is the basis of judgment, the prime ingredient of prudence, the harbinger of confidence, the monitor in dangers, and safeguard in pleasures; but fear enervates the powers, confuses the understanding, and proves a continual torment so long as it operates. Therefore inure your child to be as cautious and circumspect in all his proceedings

proceedings as the briskness of his spirits will bear, but strive with all your skill to keep him clear from fears of every kind, whether the religious, the political, those relating to life, or health, or fortune, or pain, or disgrace, and all fantastical terrors of which there are more among mankind than one can well enumerate.

You will find it necessary to preserve an awe of yourself over him, yet this awe though binding upon him to do things he does not like, may be distinguished from fear, for there is a real difference between fear and obligation. A man obliged by appointment to meet somewhere upon a party of pleasure, if you ask him to go elsewhere will excuse himself upon that account, yet fear and terror have no share in the motive that sways him to refuse you: so you may inure the child to regard your injunctions as obligatory without seeing any thing terrible in the breach of them, and bring him into an habitual unwillingness to incur your displeasure, without once thinking of the consequences that might ensue thereupon.

17. But all your cares will be of little avail unless you assist them to take effect by your example, setting before the child a pattern of those good qualities you exhort him to learn; for children are extremely imitative, observant

vant of every little word and motion, and turn of countenance, and way of acting open to their notice: and I am apt to think their future character depends more upon what sentiments and manners of proceeding they catch inadvertently, than upon what is generally comprehended under the term Education; nor would I pronounce it impossible, that children might be led into all kinds of knowledge and useful science by a regular, industrious, judicious conduct of all persons about them, without other aid than such instructions to their ignorance as they would apply for of their own accord. How much soever this notion may seem romantic, certainly a great deal may be done by that influence and by expression of our own sentiments concerning things laudable or useful without addressing to them in the way of document, or by sight of the measures and methods we take in our own proceedings.

Yet if there be not skill sufficient to make all the profit that might be made of imitation, still it is in every body's power to avoid doing hurt by it, which people do frequently by their indiscretion; so that vigilance is rather needful here than knowledge, or judgment. Example has been always counted more prevalent than precept, and by its bad influence may easily overthrow all the good

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that has been laboured to be done by the other. You may in some measure abate this influence from the examples of other persons by showing their evil tendency or turning them into ridicule, but you cannot condemn nor ridicule your own actions, you will have neither inclination nor eyes to see the blameable in them when once performed, nor would it be prudent to lessen yourself in the child's esteem; which esteem will give a credit to what he sees done by you, or where it does not, still he will catch your manners by mechanical sympathy without designing or thinking of it.

Juvenal says, the greatest reverence is due to children, by which must be understood that we cannot be too much upon the guard how we behave before them, never to betray any marks of passion, intemperance of mind, greediness of desire, folly, or selfishness in their presence: if we have a foible we are resolved not to part with, let us reserve the indulgence of it for times when they are not by; for how can we pretend to love them when we cannot restrain any present sally of imagination that may do them more mischief, than all the benefits of education can compensate? What signifies exhortations to moderate their desires, when they see them continually breaking out with violence in yourself?

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What inducement can they have to love early hours, when they know you lie a bed every day till noon? What encouragement to industry, when they perceive you spend your time in idling and trifling? What safeguard to their purity, when endangered by your indecent jests and discourse? What caution against the lure of intense pleasures and diversions, when they find you hunting after them perpetually? How can you instil courage and an opinion of hardiness, if you practise an effectation of fearfulness and delicacy upon every trifling occasion? By what instructions will you make them candid and equitable, if you show a selfishness, greediness, contempt, and party virulence in your own temper? How can you expect to make them good managers, while you give yourself up to carelessness, waste, and dissipation.

But you will say it is unavoidable to do many things before children which one must not permit them to do, and they may be taught to know the difference between themselves and grown persons. I do not deny them capable of learning an idea of propriety which makes the same procedure becoming in one person, that would be blameable in another, and it behoves you to teach them this idea, together with the rules and reasons of it, in proportion as you find them capable: but

but they will soon perceive whether those actions of yours which you forbid them to practise, proceed from propriety, or an intemperance and weakness of mind by the very form of your injunctions. For you may say to a child, you must not get on horseback though I may, because I am stronger and know how to manage him; but you cannot tell him you must not swear nor get drunk, but I may; your prohibition here must be general, as against things wrong and blameable in every body. Therefore if you invite him by your practice to what you prohibit by your remonstrances, though you should be able to keep him in order for the present by the awe of your authority, it will be a state of irksomeness and bondage to him, he will wish for the time that shall rid him of this restraint, that he may take the same liberties you do, and perhaps will take them sooner, as often as he thinks it can be done without hazard of a discovery: therefore discretion should withhold you even from some things allowable for yourself, where you cannot make him understand the danger and mischief of them to him.

But in order the better to lead him into a knowledge of propriety as he grows up, let him be taught to cast a retrospect upon the stage of life he has already passed through,

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for he will be fond of remarking the impropriety of children less than himself doing as he does, and will readily enter into the reasons of it, by which you make him sensible of the difference between himself, and others that are older. The like method you may employ to abate his fondness for pleasures, as if they could never lose their relish, taking the benefit of what little experience he has, which is always a stronger root of knowledge than instruction, productive of more keeping fruit; for the playthings which gave him vast delight in the nursery he utterly despises at school, the kites, and marbles, and castle tops he was fond of then, afford him no amusement when grown to full stature; from whence he may conclude that the diversions and gallantries wherefrom he now expects a supremity of happiness may become insipid in their turn, and he may learn to provide for satisfactions suitable to the perfect state of manhood, and old age.

Nor will it be of little service for your conducting him if you can recal to mind the very ideas, desires, and fancies you had yourself at his years, for this will be a sort of setting the old head upon young shoulders; you will feel what the shoulders can bear, be less severe upon his failings and sallies which once were your own, see clearer the dangers they

they lead into, and know better how to manage with them. There is an in discretion people are sometimes guilty of in consulting while their children are in the room upon the measures they shall take with them, particularly to break them of some unlucky trick: they think the children take no notice because seeming busied in their plays, but for all that they are very attentive upon those occasions, and will be sure to counterplot you, or perhaps arm themselves with an obstinacy you will find very difficult to surmount.

Some are very apt to vent themselves in wishes for things that would be mighty convenient for them, as that they could find a mine, get a prize in the lottery, obtain a place at court, or that some overgrown rich man would leave them a swinging legacy: if these imaginations are an amusement to you, however keep them to yourself, but let your child hear nothing of this sort, for it may teach him to be discontented, visionary, and perhaps make him a projector, or a gamester. Beware likewise of boasting of your family, fortune, taste, abilities, or any other superiority, and of criticizing, censuring, or ridiculing other persons: for this would lead him the ready road into the pernicious desire of excelling. Neither cry up his beauty, his stoutness, his parts, or his proficiency, for this must infuse

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an opinion of excelling; which is poisonous unless administered sparingly, so far only as is needful to give him encouragement in his exercises.

But the most dangerous incaution, because the most common and least willingly guarded against, is that of showing a fondness for him which you are unable to resist, therefore you cannot be too careful of your gestures, your countenance, your expressions, and tones of voice, that they do not betray a weakness of love: for if he once find himself of importance to you, and that his displeasures give you a sensible uneasiness, he will become precious in his own eyes, domineering over the servants, and assuming upon every body, he will grow humoursome, presumptuous, and perpetually use his power over you for gaining his own little ends. You may and ought to be tender of him, but let it be with a judicious tenderness; or if it should not, let him not see the contrary, but manage so that nothing may hinder his being persuaded, that you could find in your heart to use any rigour or severities his behaviour should make to appear necessary in your judgment.

18. There is no need to say much of religion, because the methods for instructing in the rudiments of it are in every body's hands; it is enough therefore to recommend that

what the child learns by rote, or hears discoursed of among his elders, he should be made to understand; but this must be done slowly and gradually, in proportion as he is capable of comprehending an explanation. The doctrines of Religion as I have endeavoured to prove, in former Chapters, are so far from superseding the use of reason, that they will answer no useful purpose without a sober and careful exercise of it: they were given not to supply its place, but as marks to direct its progress, and checks to preserve it from dangerous, or unprofitable deviations, or as theses whereon to exercise it with greatest emolument. Therefore it is good husbandry to nourish up the tender buds of reason as they open, to study the art of distinguishing the bearing twigs, and leading them into positions where they will yield the fairest fruit; for one must not expect much discernment in children, the business lies in finding out what conceptions and turns of thought are the distant avenues conducting into sound discernment.

They may be taught by degrees to distinguish what part of their composition is themselves, and what is separable from them; to remember that life will have an end and to feel a concern for futurity, by being put in mind that it may be ended very soon by means

means of accident or disease; to form some idea of an invisible power, from whence all the visible powers of nature must have been originally derived; to observe a connection of interests between fellow creatures, and that their own are affected by the abilities, the dispositions and behaviour of the persons they live amongst: to lead them into right notions of goodness, equity, justice, and Prudence. But very little can be done at first by reasoning, they must be stored with rules and doctrines to be taken from your authority upon trust, which may serve for the foundation and materials wherewith afterwards to erect the structures of reason. Their system must be wholly exoteric, admitting nature and chance to a large share in the production of events, and the divine power represented to interfere by immediate operation, whereon the esoterics may be introduced by little and little as the understanding opens to comprehend them, taking great care they be not misapprehended, so as to seem a contradiction and overthrow what had been inculcated before.

While there is nothing but appetite and amusement engaging to their desires, it may be necessary to employ a degree of fear for keeping them attentive to the matters you tell them of; but the less of it you can do

with, the better; and in proportion as you can get other springs to work upon, as they come to have an idea of use, to find a relish for remote advantages, and can be made sensible of the beneficial tendency of your instructions, discard fear as superfluous, and always mischievous when superfluous; for though it be the beginning of wisdom, it is incompatible with hearty, unreserved charity, wherein the perfection of wisdom terminates.

What rules and forms you judge needful keep them steady to the observance of, and a little more strictly than you wish they should always adhere to, for it is much easier to relax than to straighten. Therefore, as said in a former place, I love to see young people rather too rigid and scrupulous, because their own experience and the world they converse with will abate of this excess; but libertinism is the hardest thing in the world to cure, because disdaining to submit to any regimen. If a lad were not accustomed early to the use of prayer and ceremonies, he would find them unavailing could he be brought to try them afterwards, for the strangeness and awkwardness with which he would go about them, fixing his whole attention upon the external appearances, must render them an empty form working nothing of that Metanoia or change of sentiments, wherein their sole

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virtue consists. The summary of Religion having been comprised in one short sentence, to live soberly, righteously, and godly; these three are correspondent parts of the compact body, which it should be a principal aim to make children sensible of, to show them how the two first may be derived by a reference from the last, and the last is best attained by being prosecuted in such manner as that it may become a direction and aid in practising the other two: for that is the most genuine godliness which tends to encrease sobriety and righteousness, and these are best maintained by sound and lively sentiments of the former.

19. I do not pretend in the foregoing pages to have laid down a compleat system of education, nor pointed out all the particular aims expedient to be held in view therein: yet I conceive here are enow to make a happy and a useful man, if steadily pursued, and perhaps more than can be pursued so effectually as one would wish: for none can make it their whole business to take care of their children, it is well if they can be persuaded to make it a business at all, and not a mere amusement, or an obligation of custom which one must comply with, because else what will the world say? A thing to be thought on only by the by, when one is in the humour,

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in the vacancies between polite engagements, consisting in directions now and then to the servants, or choice of a school, or a tutor.

My intention was only to offer such suggestions as occured, for the chance of what benefit may be made of them: if any body shall find one or two among them which he did not happen to think of before, and which he judges profitable and practicable, he will do well to adopt into his plan, taking care beforehand that he has firmness enough to prosecute what he determines upon; for no aim can be attained merely by a conviction of its desirableness, nor by a sudden violent resolution, but by an unbroken perseverance. But whatever plan he resolves on or additional strokes he admits into it, he must be careful to examine whether they be suitable to the subject he has to work upon: for you cannot make a Mercury of every stick, but must endeavour to find out the best that can be done with it, and adapt your scheme to your materials: nor be disheartened if you find a coarseness in the grain, for every wood is usable for some good purpose, and Providence who put them in your hands has no doubt suited them to its own design; therefore it is not your business to depend upon doing great matters, but to take care that nothing be lost through your own negligence or mismanagement.

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Yet there is a certain character of discretion deserving to be made a principal aim, in all cases, as being attainable with small talents and needful to be cultivated with the greatest. This is better understood by observation of persons possessing it, than by any explanation of words: but the marks of it may be seen in a uniformity of conduct, and pertinence of action, void of self-conceit, affectation, and singularity, giving into no extravagances, nor aiming at projects beyond its forces, proceeding quietly its own way, compliant to the occasion, but not whiffling about with every slight attraction; attentive to every light that breaks in, and calmly diligent to make use of it. We may sometimes see persons of very little capacity, who by help of a few principles, well chosen and well riveted, have been brought to possess this quality, proceed almost mechanically by its direction, pass a sound judgment upon things within their narrow sphere, and go through life with more comfort to themselves, and credit among their neighbours, than others of more shining accomplishments whose great talents are vitiated, and overbalanced by some egregious folly.

CHAP. XXXVII.

DEATH.

UNSPARING grisly King of terrors, sole universal monarch, whose power no prowess can resist, whose peremptory call no artifice can evade; the eye cannot support thy looks, nor the blood forbear to curdle at the thoughts of thee; we stifle all remembrance of thee, that we may enjoy our pleasures securely, which would utterly lose their relish or be embittered thereby. For thou tearest us away from our friends, turnest us out of our possessions, breakest short all our beloved schemes, and deprivest us of all our means of enjoyment. Whatever reason may suggest, still thy stroke seems an annihilation to our fancy, or presents an uncertainty, more dismal, wherein imagination can find no certain object on which to fix a distant hope. Thou comest beset with pains, uneasinesses, regrets, incapacity, and tastelessness for all common engagements, which multiply the horrors of thine approach; and, as if thy native frightfulness

fulness was not enough to dismay us, we are trained up to dread thee sorer by the behaviour, the discourses, and customs of the world around us. For thou art spoken of as the worst of evils, the danger principally to be guarded against before all others; men will part with any thing to save their lives, undergo any severities of medicine or surgery, to retard thine advances, which they know must reach them one time or another; lamentations are made for the loss of friends, which would be thought selfish, if arising rather from our own share in the loss, than theirs; the law denounces death as her severest punishment, reserved for the most atrocious crimes, and deems burnings, confiscations, loss of limbs, perpetual exile, and imprisonment, milder chastisements; and men of thought have pronounced destruction abhorrent to nature herself, who has given an innate principle of self-preservation to all animals without exception.

But what evidence is there of this innate principle, since animals of every species just entered into life though then most helpless, show no signs of fear nor sense of danger until taught it by experience of pain, and the causes bringing hurt upon them. They then indeed begin to have a principle of self-defence by resisting or flying from whatever threatens them

them with mischief, but it is a defence against pain, not against destruction, which they know not what it is. For there is no appearance the brutes have any idea of death, or the least imagination concerning the continuance or discontinuance of their being, consequently can have no fear of a thing to them wholly unknown and inconceivable: but they have an abhorrence of pain, a dread of terrible objects striking them with an apprehension of hurt, a love of liberty to take their common amusements; they have likewise appetites and instincts of various sorts prompting to their several gratifications: and Providence has wisely adapted these principles of action so as to lead them thereby unknowingly into the measures needful for preservation of their lives, by an aversion to things destructive, and an appetence to those requisite for their accommodation and sustenance.

With respect to man the case is much the same while he continues to be guided by motives little different from the brutes, to wit, present pleasures or pains, the gratifications or aversions of appetite, until reason beginning to open gives entrance to new appetites which nature never planted: therefore inoculation is commonly recommended before seven years old, because then children have no fears. But when arrived to the competent

competent use of language and reflection, we are continually warned of dangers surrounding us, excited to cares of self-preservation, every body wishes and expects long life, deplores the loss of it as a grievous misfortune, laments every disease, or accident seeming to endanger it; we love to think how we shall employ, or how amuse ourselves a week, or a month hence, all which prospects death cuts short, we see it brought on by painful distempers, tiresome sicknesses, or violent hurts; the forlorn appearance of a dead body, the close imprisoning coffin, the yawning grave, and melancholy pomp of funerals strike a mechanical dejection upon the spirits, to which add the necessary admonitions of Religion concerning a future reckoning: no wonder then if all these causes combining to operate, raise alarms in us that would not have sprouted up spontaneously, and give us a strong idea of self-preservation with an abhorrence of whatever threatens destruction.

Yet we do not find this abhorrence universal, Philosophy can overcome it, enabling the professor, like Socrates, to swallow the deadly potion as a chearful glass among his friends; Religion can despise it and urge the zealot to court a crown of martyrdom; ambition, fame, revenge will stifle it; vexation, disappointment, and any intolerable pressure will

will outweigh it; the ruined gamester, the broken trader, and the forsaken courtier, have sometimes flown to death as to a sure asylum, and even the whining lover has taken refuge there against a fantastic evil of his own creating; the common soldier, and the sailor lose all dread of it, not by profound reasonings, but by familiarity with the object, by the taunts and jests, the intrepid countenance and behaviour of their comrades: the unenlightened Canadian takes pride in singing while tortured by his conquerors, and there are some who, like Shakspeare's Bernardino, seem never to have had a sensibility of any thing beyond the present indulgence of their gross appetites.

Thus it appears that the fear of death, unknown to other animals, is not so deeply implanted in human nature but there are methods by which it may be rooted out, and one may generally observe that persons of a hardiness capable of enduring pain and distress are less obnoxious to it than the delicate, the effeminate, and the voluptuous, who have no way of possessing their minds in tranquillity, unless by wholly banishing it out of their thoughts. But since this practice is far from being recommendable, as serving at best only for a present expedient, which must fail whenever the near approach of death forces it upon

upon our reflection; and that of insensibility, though necessary to qualify some persons for the public service, is but reducing them in that respect to the condition of brute animals, for we find the horse capable of being made as fearless in battle as the trooper who mounts him; let us try whether we cannot help ourselves better by the use of our reason, so as to bear looking death calmly and steadily in the face, to contemplate all his features, and examine fairly what there is of terrible, and what of harmless in them.

2. In order to do this more effectually, it will be necessary to analyze him into his constituent parts; for death, although esteemed one thing and called by a name of the singular number, is in reality a complication of terrors springing from different quarters, and it is their united forces aiding each other like the poles of a loadstone, that make him so formidable. There are the troubles, the sicknesses preceding the convulsions, agonies, ghastly countenances, and the expiring groan; the regret of leaving our friends; the deprivation of all our possessions; the breaking short of all our schemes; the cutting off our prospect of things we used to amuse ourselves with the thoughts of being to do; the strangeness of the situation being what we never had experienced before; the loss of our powers and

and ideas wherewith we used to help ourselves; the nigh-spent hour glass of time; the coming on of an event it has ever been our principal care to avoid; the dismal condition of the body pent up in a cold grave, in solitude and darkness; the difficulty of comprehending happiness in the abstract without sensible objects wherefrom it may issue; the proneness of imagination to forebode mischief in uncertainty; the distrust of our former reasonings: the backwardness to credit other evidence than our senses or experience; the habitual aptness of certain terrors to rise mechanically we know not why: and, lastly, the expectation of a future reckoning.

All these sources of affright pouring in their agitations from every side, raise such a turbulence in the centre as throws the mind quite off her basis: it is in vain to think of assuaging them all together, for while you turn to wrestle against one adversary, another by a sudden shock darted in upon the imagination will trip you up behind. Therefore we must deal with them as the old man in the fable instructed his sons to deal with the fagot which they could not break with all their might, until he had untied it, and then they found no difficulty in snapping short the single sticks In like manner it behoves us to separate the causes of our disquiet, considering

ing each of them distinctly: but this separation is not so easy as might be imagined, for if you go to talk to people upon the folly of fearing hurt to the dead, insensible body, they will cry, but then to toss about in a sick bed without hopes of recovery; try to comfort them upon this article, and they interrupt you with, but then to leave all one's friends, one's home, one's conveniences, and enjoyments: thus they will dodge you round with their burdens, so that you can never get hold of their hand to help them.

This being the case, makes it more expedient to enter upon the task in good time while in health and vigour, when the object appearing at a distance throws no confusion over the mind, but we are able to draw the eye off from other parts of it in order to contemplate some one among them more attentively. For doing this effectually it will not be sufficient to content ourselves with the common topics of declamation chimed in the ear without ever sinking into the heart, but to examine the point thoroughly and fairly not stifling what we dislike, placing every thing in its just light, and allowing every consideration its due weight: that so we may become masters of the true state of the case, and attain a full conviction founded upon solid reasons, not to be shaken afterwards by suggestions

gestions of something that had been overlooked.

But an inveterate misapprehension cannot be cured at once by the clearest judgment of the understanding, for the fault lies in the imagination which will return to its own bias as soon as the operation of the other faculty ceases: therefore it will be necessary frequently to revise the point, running over the process whereby we formed our judgment, until we bring it to be an habitual train of thinking, by which our conviction will be turned into persuasion, and become one branch of the virtue of Faith. Thus although a good life in general be the best preparation for death, yet here is a particular preparation adapted to secure us against the fears of it, and we shall see presently that our progress in this preparation must assist our endeavours towards leading a good life: so that by labouring prudently for our temporal ease and tranquillity, we shall in so doing advance a considerable step towards our future interests. For in this, as in other instances, though our well being in the next life be our proper ultimate aim and principal concern, we can gather no light from our stores of experience how to compass it, but our own good and that of our fellow-creatures in this world are the marks which God has given us for our sure direction.

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poorer for having dropped a sixpence. Whoever bears this reflection in mind, will not wish to recal the years that have lapsed over him, nor be so apt as many people are to complain of seeing the rising generation grow up to shove them out of the world: the great boys at school do not make this complaint, because little ones are daily coming in to shove them out of their places; nor do travellers, when, on setting out again after having baited at an inn, they see other company coming in to take the commodious room and refreshments which they must now resign.

But this life is a school to prepare our faculties for other exercises than those set us here; it is a journey, or rather one stage of our journey through matter: we have our pleasures and our uses of the span allotted us, and welcome be all others to the pleasures and uses contained in their span. For that there are further uses than we can trace in all the transactions of passing here, I have before given reasons to evince; those uses then being answered, we want no more sand to keep our glass running, but may leave time to find another glass to conduct us onward, through our next stage, And this consideration well inculcated might encourage us against all fears of the glass breaking before quite run out, for God knows what uses we

have to serve, and what length of time is requisite to compleat them, and no doubt has so adapted our strength of constitution together with the courses of fortune respecting us as to afford sufficient space for the purpose; therefore whenever we find the glass run out, or shed its sand, we may rest contented that the uses for which it was given are satisfied.

9. Nor is there just ground for more grievous disappointment at the glass breaking, because it is an event we have been always most careful to prevent; see the world in general solicitous to escape, and been taught from our infancy to make our principal concern, as being right and incumbent upon us so to do. It is certainly right to take all proper care of our preservation, and were to be wished that the voluptuous and debauched would give more attention than they do, to dangers which threaten the shortening of their days: but when we consider why it is right, we shall see that the laudableness of our cares does not exclude an indifference for their success, if they should prove ineffectual.

Life, considered barely in itself, is a thing indifferent, neither good nor evil; if the kings of Colen, as legends pretend, slept three hundred years in a cave, they must have been alive all that time, but were no more the better nor worse for being so, than if they had lain

lain in a state of non-entity; but it is the enjoyments and uses of life that make its value, for since they cannot be had when life is gone, the preservation of it is the first and necessary ingredient in our cares for them. There may be uses and enjoyments beyond, but of those we have no particular knowledge, all that we can know assuredly concerning them is, that there are certain preparatory measures needful to be taken here; which yields an additional reason for endeavouring to keep our station as long as we can, that we may have time to make the better preparation. But when there are visible uses to the public in departing therefrom, or the rules of duty carrying an irrefragable presumption of such uses demand, it is more laudable to sacrifice life with all its enjoyments, than still to retain a fondness for it: nevertheless, even upon these occasions it remains commendable to use all our skill and industry for escaping the danger, so far as consistent with our duty. For life appears a good to us, and rectitude consists in adhering steadily to whatever appears such in our best judgment: therefore our cares for self-preservation are justifiable, nor does it contradict the habit of practising them, that we acquiesce in an event which they could not turn aside.

We may look upon the shortening of life

through our own negligence as a real evil, and if we make the prevention of this evil the object of our solicitude it will keep us constantly attentive to our preservation, and yet the approach of death when inevitable will not be the thing we have been accustomed to dread. We have acted right in warding it off while we could, for so long it was an evil, and we certainly do not wrong when it is forced upon us, for this is no act of ours: it must come some time or other, and we have no reason to believe it an evil whenever it comes without our own procurement. It is not unlikely there may be a critical time wherein it will be best for us to depart out of this world, because opening the best entrance into another: we know our lot here so far depended upon the time of its being cast upon us, as that we could not have been born with just the same constitution, natural parts, family nor fortune at any other time; for as soon as the little fœtus is formed for the reception of a perceptive spirit, the laws of nature require that one should be lodged in it; therefore if our creation had not been made at that instant, we must have had a lodgment assigned us in some other body. And how know we that it may not be more material to fall upon the lucky moment for our second birth? for the spirit newly created was alike indifferent to occupy

occupy any body, but this life being a preparation for the next, and the courses of it very various among us, we must go out of it very variously qualified, so that every station there will not suit us alike; therefore it is of great consequence to find our passage when there is a commodious station vacant, and the causes that prepare for our reception are operating.

It is not possible for us to know when those circumstances are favourable, but we must trust Providence for having ordered the course of events in both worlds most opportunely to tally with one another, and as the soul is created when there is a body capable of receiving it, so is it called out again when the most suitable station lies ready for its occupancy: therefore it would be extremely hazardous either to anticipate by our intemperance and negligence, or retard by our timidity, the time that has been chosen for us by a wise and beneficent patron; for by so doing we may chance to cast ourselves upon some uncomfortable spot, to which our preparations have been in no respect suited. Thus we see the preservation of life while the means of preservation are allowed us, and the willing resignation of it when they are withdrawn, are so far from being contradictory sentiments, or the one a violent change from the other, that they both naturally rise together from

from the same principle, and coincide in their tendency to accomplish the same purpose.

10. The melancholy appearance of a lifeless body, the mansion provided for it to inhabit, dark, cold, close, and solitary, are shocking to the imagination, but it is to the imagination only, not the understanding, for whoever consults this faculty will see at first glance, that there is nothing dismal in all these circumstances: if the corps were kept wrapped up in a warm bed with a roasting fire in the chamber, it would feel no comfortable warmth therefrom; were store of tapers lighted up as soon as day shuts in, it would see no objects to divert it; were it left at large, it would have no liberty, nor if surrounded with company, would be cheared thereby; neither are the distorted features expressions of pain, uneasiness, or distress. This every one knows and will readily allow upon being suggested, yet still cannot behold nor even cast a thought upon those objects without shuddering; for knowing that a living person must suffer grievously under such appearances, they become habitually formidable to the mind, and strike a mechanical horror which is increased by the customs of the world around us.

It is common to fright children into taking of their physic by telling them that else they must

must be put into the pithole; when grown up the tolling knell, the solemn pomp of funerals help to depress their spirits, the doleful countenances, and discourses of other persons draw them by sympathy, and all the scenes of death are heightened by poets and rhapsodists. As for the pithole, I see no need of that in medicine, for if terrors are wanting, those of the rod might do full as well to make the potion go down: decency in burials indeed is practised in all civilized countries, nor is it an idle ceremony, because the omission of it might introduce a savageness and obduracy of temper, that would be dangerous to the living; therefore it is serviceable only to raise a feeling in the thoughtless, which may make them more helpful to persons in sickness or danger: but for such as have a sensibility and a sympathizing temper, it behoves them to take care this provision, salutary to the generality, do not become poisonous to them by stiring up a sympathy with the shrouded carcase, and tainting their imagination with a dread of being themselves one day the subject of a like doleful ceremony. It would be vain to use arguments here, for none are wanting, the understanding being already satisfied that there is no suffering within the coffin, wherewith to sympathize; the sore lies in the imagination, which is not to be dealt

dealt with by accumulating new arguments, but by continually running over in the mind what was known well enough to the reason before, that so it may be loosened from the hold gotten upon it by the senses, and brought to run in trains not suggested by external appearances.

Therefore it will be expedient often to contemplate the nature of our composition consisting of two parts, one of which serves only for a channel of conveyance or instrument for the other to perceive by, until by this practice we have familiarised our thoughts to the idea of a substance which is not body, nor an object of sight, or touch, or any sense, yet perceives whatever stands exhibited by the senses, which is properly ourselves, makes whatever else comes into vital union with it to be part of ourselves for the time, is capable of uniting with other portions of matter which then would become parts of us, and has no further concern with them when disunited again, but they no more remain parts of us than of any other person.

If we find these ideas too abstracted to make impression upon us, we may aid them by experience of our senses: we know that limbs have been cut off, and then whatever treatment is bestowed upon them no more affects the former owner, than it does a stranger:

ger: we daily see the slaughtered animals serving for our food, yet without apprehension of any hurt befalling them by the cuttings, the roastings, and hashings, they undergo, why then should we fancy a dead man, pent up in a coffin and laid in the grave, more miserable than a dead chicken, closed up in a pye and baking in the oven? Yet we shudder at the dead man's situation, thinking how dreadful it would be to us; so it certainly would if placed there alive, and so would the chicken's if put in with all its feathers on, before the neck was wrung: and both have been in a situation as little suited to our liking, one immersed in a slimy yolk inclosed in the shell, the other not much more agreeably lodged in the womb; yet the thought of that yields no apprehension of misery, though there then were senses to suffer by it: why then should we tremble at a condition where there are no senses to be affected at any thing passing there? But whatever considerations we employ will not avail by once or twice suggesting, we must be industrious to apply them upon every alarm starting up in the thought: for knowledge is not the thing we want here but faith, and persuasion being a habit, is neither to be weakened nor worked upon unless by repeated efforts made at proper seasons for bringing the ideas to run spontaneously

spontaneously in trains conformable to our knowledge, without disturbance from external appearances.

11. Nevertheless, after imagination is cured of anxiety for the body, as being devoid of all sense and ceasing to be a part of us, it will retain a solicitude for that part which still continues to be ourselves, lest it should utterly lose all powers of perception on losing the body which contained all the organs of sensation and repository of ideas within it: and this inability to comprehend what means of enjoyment or occupation we shall then have, strikes a horror upon the mind. For even the persuasion of happiness ordinarily does not satisfy, nor can scarce be entertained without prospect of some particular channel through which that happiness may flow: pleasure in the abstract is not easily conceivable, when we go to frame an idea of it, we constantly think of something pleasant to the touch, or the taste, or some other of the senses, or to the reflection which draws all its materials from the fund of sensation: and when we try to raise an idea of pleasure where all those materials are withdrawn, there starts up a frightful phantom in its stead, made formidable by its confusedness, as having neither shape, nor colour, nor distinguishable mark for the thought to rest upon.

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This difficulty will always perplex us, unless we have used ourselves to carry reflection beyond the immediate operation of the senses, and to distinguish the impression they strike upon the mind from the springs employed in striking it. We have pleasures of very various sorts with respect to their objects, and sometimes pass through very quick successions of them, yet with equal pleasure all the while: a man sits down to a dinner he likes extremely, when that is ended he chats awhile among agreeable company, he then takes a very diverting book from which he goes directly to a concert which terminates in a ball; his pleasure all along may be the same, though the sources of it have varied, which shews that pleasure is something different from the causes exciting it, and may differ from itself in degree, but never in kind, though the causes continually differ in kind. We find our amusements cloy upon repetition, becoming first indifferent, then irksome from delightful they were before; the colours, the sounds, the savours, or whatever else was in the objects that amused us continue all along the same, but nothing is more opposite than pleasure and pain, therefore since they can both be joined successively to the same sensations, they must be something different from them, capable of subsisting

subsisting without them, and introducible by other channels. Yet whenever we receive either, there must be something acting upon us, for as the eye cannot see itself so neither can the mind operate upon itself, but to have enjoyment must have some pleasurable object to affect it.

But why should we not conceive it may be so affected without aid of the bodily senses? Their ministry is necessary in this present state, because all our objects lying at a distance without us, could not reach our notice unless by their intervention: yet we may consider that perception is not taken at the eyes, or the ears, or the fingers' ends, they only propagate their motions to the particles of our sensory which strike us immediately with perceptions; and why cannot we imagine there may be other particles possessing the like quality without having their motions conveyed through a long complicated mechanism, so that the naked mind may have objects to perceive analogous to those furnishing our sensory? Or if this be hard of conception, it will be much less so to apprehend the mind not going out naked, but invested with a set of organs capable of transmitting notices from external objects, for the probability of which I have already given reasons drawn from the doctrine gene-

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rally received upon the best authorities of this life being a preparation for the next: so that we shall still have a channel of sensation to supply us with engagement, and though our new senses should be totally different from those we now possess, this need not disturb us, for having an idea of sensation to work upon, we do not want a ground whereon to fix our idea of enjoyment. A man born blind can form no conception of the pleasures we know are received by sight, nether can a child in the womb of the various enjoyments in life, nor yet an infant of most of the tastes and gratifications belonging to manhood: thus we have experience of creatures capacitated to receive pleasures upon a change in their organs, of which they are not now capable of forming any distinct idea; which may help us to comprehend the easier, how we may still find matter to occupy us in the use of new senses, unknow to mortal man.

Nevertheless, for a further aid to our imagination, it has been common to employ sensible images for figuring the condition we may stand in: but since some people have stumbled at the descriptions of angels with wings, or creatures shaped and sized like ourselves whether with gross bodies or flimsy, unsolid textures, if they find the vehicular hypothesis better

better suited to their taste, they are welcome to the suggestions I have offered concerning it; only let them not be mortified at their minuteness, for we judge of magnitude by ourselves; children think grown persons huge creatures, and we call them little creatures; whatever diminutive size we may be reduced to, no doubt we shall esteem ourselves proper persons; if a thousand of us can creep into a grain of corn, we shall not fancy ourselves mites for all that, but the corn swoln into an enormous mountain, abounding with spacious caverns where we may ramble about commodiously.

12. Yet how difficult so ever we find it to form a clear idea of pleasure in the abstract, nothing is more easy than to apprehend pain and uneasiness without any particular object wherewith to concrete them; which makes imagination so prone to forbode mischief in uncertainty, being then reduced to abstractions it can readily find the idea of pain among them, but nothing to counterbalance it. But pain cannot befal without some agent to hurt us, and some organ to convey the hurt; for a man whose senses are stupified, is incapable of receiving any; which shows that pain is in its nature as little fitted for an abstract idea, as enjoyment, and our being able to conceive it more readily must be

be owing to custom, which makes the hardest things easy, from whence we may gather encouragement to try whether by prudently habituating our minds to the thought, we cannot attain a lively conception of happiness too in the abstract, without knowledge of any particular species of enjoyments whereof it is to consist: for this is a more desirable persuasion than that of the Vehicles or Mundane Soul, which though to me appearing a very probable hypothesis, still is but hypothesis.

If we proceed to examine how we come to fall into the practice of abstracting pain rather than pleasure, we may perceive it introduced by the narrowness of our desires confining us to their several objects; therefore when a pleasure is proposed, we are willing to learn something particular about it that we may know whether it be suitable to our taste, for else we would not give a farthing for it: but all uneasiness is disgustful to us, therefore when any threatens, we do not use to enquire farther what species it is of before we feel an aversion to it. Then our enjoyments for the most part require a long train of measures to be taken beforehand for their procurement, which must be laid upon consideration of the particular sources from whence they are to be had; the steps by which

we advance towards them become themselves pleasant to the thought, which commonly loves to run in that channel, and perhaps receives a larger sum of amusement in prosecution of them, than from the pleasure at the end. But mischiefs surround us on all quarters, so it is necessary to keep up a general caution, ready to take alarm against whatever danger approaches: if twenty pleasures offer, we fix upon one in preference to all the rest, if twenty evils threaten us, we want to escape them all; we hunt about for the sources of pleasure when they do not present of their own accord, but we do not choose to think on the causes of uneasiness, unless when needful to guard against them.

But the same caution which is our safeguard here, can do us no service when we have new organs and a new set of objects to deal with; for we know not what dangers to watch for, nor what to take alarm at, therefore may safely discard our fearfulness as being wholly unavailing: and having observed from whence it proceeds, namely, from the narrowness of our desires, this will point out one way of curing it. I have before recommended the multiplying our desires as much as possible, striving to be pleased with every thing, and to possess a contented mind, which is always a happy mind in every situation: if

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3. To examine our object then by peicemeal in all its several parts, let us begin with the pains and distresses accompanying it, as having the fairest title to raise our apprehensions, because pain is grevious to human nature: but so it is when not endangering the life, wherefore we have no more reason to be afraid of it then, than at other times. But people fancy it must be acuter then, than at other times: why so? what foundation is there for the fancy? some obtain their quietus without any signs of pain at all, as if dropped into sleep: and when brought to their end by distemper, there is no appearance of its being more tormenting for being fatal. Physicians tell you, he that recovers from a violent disease suffers more by it than he that fails; for the uneasiness springs from the struggles of nature, which are greatest before the crisis, or, when that proving favourable, leaves her strength unexhausted with which she still continues to labour for throwing off the load oppressing her: but when the scene of death begins, nature has yielded to the enemy, having lost her vigour by which she agitated the nervous, as well as the secretory vessels, so that the senses become benumbed, no longer able to strike the same sensations as in their former state.

Therefore in some diseases, as the palsy

and the coma, ease and insensibility are reckoned the most fatal symptons; and so it is in violent inflammations, which are extremely painful until the mortification begun sets the patient at perfect ease: thus the approach of death is known by the departure of pain, and probably the last stage of all distempers is a palsy, wherein some mechanical motions remain, but those which reach the sensory cease, or act but feebly. For that the convulsions and those called agonies, are mere motions of the machine, not struggles of the active powers, nor affecting the organs of sense, may be gathered from their similitude with convulsive fits, to which some persons otherwise in good health are subject, when come out of them they can give you no account of what passed in them, but the whole time seems as much lost as in sound sleep: so after the convulsions of a fever, if there be an interval of sense, you do not find the patient complain of having suffered under them, nor does he remember any thing of what has happened; or as I have heard instances of some persons, when too weak to stir themselves, a convulsion has suddenly raised them upright in their bed without stupifying their senses, they take it for a voluntary motion, a return of their strength, call for their hat and gloves, want to go out upon

upon their usual business, and feel no other uneasiness than from the opposition of the people about them.

But we hope to escape other evils by caution and good management, whereas death is inevitable: it is true death is certain, but a painful death is not so; and since there are various passages out of this world, we may confide in the goodness of God that he will assign us one proportionable to the firmness of the mind he has given us means of acquiring, and not impose upon us a burden greater than we are able to bear. It is our part to prepare our shoulders beforehand for whatever burden we shall be called upon to bear, by storing in such firmness as the way of life we are engaged in shall afford opportunities of gaining, and by patient endurance of whatever pains or troubles fall upon us in our course. And when the last trial does come, we may take encouragement from its being the last, for it is easier to pluck up resolution for struggling with a difficulty that cannot hold long, than to maintain perseverance through an unlimited series of them: but we may be sure when this is ended of having no more bodily pains to go through, nor danger of diseases, wounds, fractures, house-breakers, invasions, fires, losses, or vexations, that used to alarm us so frequently in this world.

Now likewise, if never before, we may find

a relish for prayer, and relieve ourselves by it as with a cordial: as it is not a time for pursuing esoteric ideas, there will be no harm in giving way to a persuasion of moving God by our importunities, but then they must not turn upon obtaining recovery, for there is no room to expect he will alter his courses of nature upon our account, their proper object is for resignation, patience, content, and such temper of mind as will conduce to our present ease, for this is complying with the courses of nature, and indeed, though that need not be had in view, will give us a better chance, if there be any left, of recovering.

4. Let us proceed next to the regret on leaving our friends, being turned out of our possessions, conveniences, and places whereto we used to resort with delight, and breaking off all our favorite schemes: but there is no infidelity in departing from friends we cannot stay with, no waste nor imprudence in quitting possessions we cannot keep, nor inconstancy in laying aside schemes we can no longer pursue: so we have nothing to blame ourselves for, if we should cast off that attachment which was commendable only because it helped to supply us with the materials and methods of enjoyment, and made us serviceable to one another. But we can expect no more of the pleasures we used to

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find in them: very true, yet neither shall we feel a want or miss of them, for they are not so necessary to us as that we cannot subsist in tranquillity without them.

Some of our friends have been taken from us long ago, others were not born till we had enjoyed many years of life, and our connections have frequently varied, yet always seemed engaging to us for the time: while children we had no possessions, we toiled not neither did we spin, yet our Heavenly Father provided for us by that instinct he gave our earthly parents: we then had no thought of those schemes and store of conveniences that appear so indispensable to us now. Our fondness for all these things proceeds from habit because we have been used to affect them, and from the condition of our bodies requiring provisions of accommodations, assistance of other persons in our uses and pleasures, and a train of pursuits to keep us continually engaged. But while on the bed of sickness, we are in no condition to use those sources of enjoyment or engagement that have supplied us hitherto, and if that terminates in our dissolution, we shall be as little in a condition to reap any benefit from them; therefore the parting with them is no cause of regret, as it would be to a living man who still retains many wants and desires that cannot

not be satisfied without them. But when quitting our animal machine, we quit therewith our habits, our propensities, ideas, and remembrance, becoming again a blank paper as when we first came into this world; so that if the objects of our old acquaintance were presented to us we should not know them again, nor have senses to perceive them, nor be able to conceive what benefit or pleasure they could do us, but remain as indifferent to take new impressions or desires, and run into new connections, as ever we were in our original state of infancy.

Yet why should we say the approach of death breaks off all our schemes, and threatens an utter destitution of all friendship? There is one scheme which if we take care to make our principal, and bring all our under views to bear reference or coincide with that, will not be frustrated by our removal from this imperfect state: even when the peremptory summons comes, we have still a step to make in the prosecution of it by patience and resignation to the call, and loosening our hearts from the good things that used to delight us here. And if we have cultivated a habit of charity, regarding ourselves as citizens of the world, and all perceptive creatures as intrinsically equal, we shall be capable of a good will to any of our fellow citizens, whatever

whatever species of them we may be cast amongst. For charity in her first motion is universal, but must confine her intercourses to particular subjects, according to the degree of neighbourhood wherein they stand: our present neighbours were assigned their stations by the disposition of Providence causing them to be born in the same age, of the same country with ourselves, and endowing them with the qualities and characters that have rendered us mutually helpful, and pleasing to one another: and what should hinder but that the same Providence may find us other neighbours, as well qualified to engage our dependence and endearance by intercourses suitable to the wants, the abilities, and inclinations we shall then have allotted us? Besides, it is not impossible that the same persons may be restored to our neighbourhood in a better situation, where there may be none of those little mistakes and misunderstandings, clashing of interests or discordance of humours, which have sometimes interrupted or abated our harmony heretofore.

5. Of like sort is the complaint of having all our prospects of engagement or amusement overclouded, for the mind when restrained by indisposition or confinement from exercising the active powers, loves still to feed in imagination upon her usual objects, she roams

roams to scenes of business or entertainment expected in the succeeding days. This ruminating on distant prospects in view before her proves a solace under little uneasiness; but when the reflection darts in, that all is only a vain imagination of scenes that can be enjoyed no more, they turn into scenes of horror and oppress the mind with the greater vexation, by how much the more eagerly they are beheld; they seem like a present possession torn away by violence, or they fret with the disappointment of meeting a sword's point in the very quarter whither we had turned for relief.

But I believe we need not apprehend this grievance will oppress us much on a bed of sickness, when there is little relish left for common amusements, and little leisure from present pains and wants to think of other things: it can only be in some intervals of quiet when the distemper suspends its violence without having impaired the senses, or in those incurable decays which waste, but give no pain, nor sickness, that those troubles can assault us. Nor will they assault us with any force, if we have been careful during the course of our lives to hang our desires loose upon the things around so as to be removeable upon the slightest touch of reason, or sight of an insurmountable obstacle intervening.

ing. I do not mean that we should endeavour to get rid of all our desires, for they make the pleasure of life, and are the springs of action, but we may desire a thing while appearing attainable without such an attachment or fondness as shall make us suffer by the failure of it, when not to be had.

I have recommended several times before, to provide ourselves with many desires but to have no wants, but in order to prevent desire from corrupting into want, it will be necessary to discipline it continually, to keep the mind easy under rubs and disappointments, unanxious for success in her eagerest pursuits, not prone to harbour unavailing wishes: for this will not only save us many a vexation in our commerce with the world, but will be a preparation of which we shall find the benefit well in the hour of death, as in the day of judgment. Yet if the thought of our pleasures should molest us, we may place in contrast against them the troubles, contradictions, inconveniences, and infirmities, from which none of us are wholly exempt, and if we recollect how grievous they have sometimes seemed to us, it will afford some comfort that we are now going to be delivered entirely from them. For what must be parted with it will be prudent to contemplate on the unfavourable side, which may have

have better effect, than we imagine, to abate our reluctance.

6. Another shock proceeds from the strangeness of the thing as being a scene entirely new, of which we have had no experience: for upon prospect of some difficulty to be gone through, it is usual to fortify ourselves with the remembrance of something similar we had sustained before, of which we know the issue, and have found a return of our former tranquillity and amusements. But here we have nothing in all our stores of memory wherewith to draw a comparison, and though we daily see others go before us, we can get no account from them how it fared with them either during their passage, or at the end of it. Yet this very circumstance of the passage being made every day may afford a substantial ground of comfort, not that an evil is the less to one man for having fallen upon others; if I break my leg the pain is the same whether thousands beside, or nobody break theirs; but because whatever dispensation is universal, cannot be an evil.

If we have been used to behold the course of affairs in this world with the well-wishing eye of benevolence, untainted with the prejudices of pride and selfishness, undervaluing whatever is not our own, we shall discern so many more joys than sorrows, so many more blessings

blessings than mischiefs abounding every where, as must convince us, that the whole system is laid out with an unsparing bounty: and though there be some evils scattered here and there for wise ends, to us inscrutable, they bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the good, the provisions whereof are general, but those of evil for particular individuals.

Since then it is appointed all men once to die, and we may add all animals, who had no share in the sin of Adam, it must be ranked among those appointments which are the produce of bounty. Nor may we scruple to call the departure of our dearest friends in some sort an experience of our own: if we have esteemed them for their honesty, integrity, and good qualities, we shall not think them subjected in anger to the common lot, nor believe it so rigorous as imagination suddenly represents; if we have taken part in their joys and sorrows, sympathized in their affections, they will have been to us another self; occurrences happening to them will affect us the same as if happening to our own persons, and love and shame will help us to bear unreluctantly whatever we have seen them go through.

But imagination suggests a strangeness because it is appointed men to die once: is the particle Once, which makes the strangeness, a cause

a cause of complaint? What if it were appointed to die two or three times, and come to life again, that we might know what we have to go through when the last summons comes? Should we think the condition of life mended by this alteration? I fancy we should not accept of it if left to our option, for we are not very fond of a sickness though it do not prove mortal, and this would furnish us with some of the experience we want. For the worst of the passage, as I have observed before, is during the progress of the distemper, which those who have recovered from a very dangerous one have gone through, so they do know what it is: therefore many of us have already so far died and come to life again, as was needful for the present purpose of taking off the strangeness of the thing.

If there be any body who still holds the old exploded doctrine of pre-existence, it is pity but he should take such advantage from his peculiarity as it is capable of yielding him; and he may gather this reflection from it, that he has already died a thousand times in the course of his existence, perhaps as often as he has fallen a sleep in this present life, yet he still finds himself in a condition to enjoy his being, endowed with powers and faculties suited to that purpose, without remembrance, yet likewise without want or

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regret of those he possessed in any former state. Therefore he may look upon death as equally familiar to him with sleep, only returning after much longer intervals, but the returns of both having frequency enough to take out all strangeness from the thoughts of them. And that the plain man of common sense may not want a source of comfort open to the visionary speculatist, I shall remind him that he has already passed through the state of the womb, to which the passage into this world must have been as new and strange, as the passage out can be; yet he got through it well, it was matter of congratulation among all who had any concern about him, is still remembered with some solemnity as a joyful event, and I suppose he has never once regretted his former situation, nor wished to get back again: from this experience he may draw courage to take his passage out of this life, and think himself only going to be born a second time.

7. With respect to the loss of our powers and ideas, it should be considered that those are valuable only as they serve for our help and direction in the supply of our wants, but when our necessary wants are gone, we may spare them without damage. What would our powers of walking avail us, when we have no ground to tread upon, nor unwieldy body

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to heave about from place to place? What good would our language do us, unless we might expect to meet with persons who could talk the same? How are we the worse for being unable to provide ourselves with sustenance, when we shall get rid both of our hunger and thirst? And for the removal of our ideas that must be rendered light by its being total, for when all are gone we can have no uneasy ones: our desires, cravings, wants, vexations, griefs, will be wiped away together with our knowledge of the means for relieving them. Were some of our ideas to remain, they might torment us with the reflection on those that are wanting: he that should retain an idea of his home with all the conveniences therein, but none of the way to get thither, or of the provisions for his table, without any remembrance of the places or means of procuring them, would be made miserable by the little knowledge he has left. Therefore our security lies in having the whole stock obliterated, because then we cannot be sensible of diminutions made in it, neither can we have a craving left after losing all conception of the objects that used to excite it.

But if our knowledge remained entire, it would become unless for want of the powers to be employed by it, and if both knowledge and

and powers were to stay, they could only spend themselves in fruitless exertions, having no longer the same materials and services to work upon whereto they were adapted: so it is better they should all go together, than that we should be left in a mutilated condition wherein the disabled parts must prove a burden and a grievance to those which still retained some degree of vigour. Indeed, during some part of the passage, we may find great inconvenience from the decay of our powers while we still have wants that might be relieved by them; but this cannot be of long duration, for insensibility soon follows weakness: therefore it would be highly imprudent to prepare for doubling the greivance by possessing our minds beforehand with an habitual dread of impotence, as a thing wretched in itself: we had no abilities nor understanding before birth, yet have fared well enough with them, and so may again at the end of life; the trouble can only be temporary and perhaps not that, if the decay of our activity, our judgment, and our senses, should keep even pace with one another.

8. But it is a melancholy thing to find our glass almost run out with only a few gleaning sands collected in the bottom point, for we have been used to consider time as our most precious treasure, the necessary basis to support

support all our other possessions; we have always pleased ourselves with the thoughts of having a plentiful stock before us, which makes us dejected when that pleasure is wrested away, by seeing it shrunk to an alarming smallness, how much soever we have been too wasteful while not perceiving it sensibly decay.

We have indeed a small allowance of it dealt us here, and much we have to do with it, therefore prudence should incline us to husband it well, that we may lose none of those uses and innocent amusements for which it was given us: yet if we have inured our desires to hang loose upon their objects, if we have learned a calm industry void of anxiety or eargerness in the prosecution of our schemes and pleasures, we shall feel no shock on seeing our career cut short, nor further space remaining to pursue them. For though the time for them be over, yet time itself is not exhausted, having the boundless ocean of eternity from whence to replenish his glass, larger than all the sands of the Atlantic, the Pacific, and every other sea together. Since then we have such an immense estate of time, we need not grudge the expence of fifty or threescore years irrecoverably gone from us; for this trifling diminution no more leaves us the poorer, than a man of ten thousand pounds a year would be the

poorer

we have practised this method, we shall gain a more general and abstract idea of pleasure, not confined to a few particular species of it, and become less apt to take alarm merely from the uncertainty of our prospect, without some apparent ground making it prudent so to do.

And in order to satisfy ourselves that a state of uncertainty is not necessarily a state of terror, we may consider that children and animals have no foresight of the pleasures and pains that will befal them: but you will say, they have no sense of danger nor knowledge of the accidents whereto they are liable; true, but we who do know they are so liable, yet are not affrighted for them upon the mere uncertainty, unless we see some particular danger impending. We may reflect likewise that we have never yet lived in a state of absolute security, but know ourselves continually liable to dangers and changes of situation, of which we can have no clear apprehension what they may produce, yet have been able to possess our minds in tranquillity, notwithstanding: from whence we may learn to familiarize our thoughts to a dependance upon fortune in matters whereof we have no light given us to help ourselves. For what appears to us chance or fortune, is indeed a regular series of causes, bound up in one

system with the laws of nature: and we see how nature provides suitable accommodations for every species of animals as soon as she brings them into life, by which experience duly attended to we may turn our uncertainty into an assurance, that whatever our wants and capacities shall be in the next state of life, she has made the like provision for our suitable accommodation there.

Nor need we fancy our being left uncertain with respect to what particular sensations, objects, and employments will be assigned us, as an affect of diskindness; for if we had such particular knowledge, it must interrupt us in the duties of our station, we should be perpetually ruminating on the scenes before us instead of attending to the business in hand, and upon any little distaste might be tempted to end our lives before the appointed time: therefore it is a blessing that we are allowed no further insight into futurity than to discern that our condition there depends upon the prudent management of our own truest interests, and those of our fellow creatures, upon earth: this is enough, if borne enough in mind, to keep us steady in our proper occupation here, and open an exhilarating though indistinct prospect of an hereafter.

13. By such considerations we can easily satisfy

satisfy our minds for a season, but the difficulty lies in preserving the vigour of their influence unimpaired at all seasons, for there are some wherein we find ourselves very apt to suspect the justness of our former reasonings. Fear will often hang on a dead weight of prejudice, as well as hope: what we eagerly wish, we can believe upon no foundation; and what we vehemently dread, appears a certain evil while there remains a possibility of imagining that it may come. In this case we commonly set ourselves with all our might to hunt for arguments in support of our terror, and impress them in strongest colours upon the mind: if any one goes to quiet us, we expect a demonstration that shall force upon us in spite of our utmost resistance, a glare of light to strike through our eye-lids when we shut them against it. This partiality of fear springs from a like partiality to our desires, and our indolence; we are conscious of having made hasty decisions either because they humoured our wishes, or to avoid the trouble of further examination, which brings an utter discredit upon our judgment, so that we can never tell when to trust it, but become incredulous by knowing that we have always been too credulous before.

Having found what raises this barrier round our fears rendering them inaccessible on all

quarters, it behoves us to guard against the workings of indolence and partiality of desire, to prevent the mischief that will be very hard to remedy. We may remember that absolute certainty was not made for man, and learn to content ourselves without it: our clearest evidences do not give their full lustre at once, until we have examined them on all sides, and observed what other evidences there may be to weaken their force: as our business lies with probabilities, it will be needful to practise the art of ascertaining their degrees, that we may become expert in weighing them fairly, and discerning when there is a visible preponderancy. If we have inured ourselves to this method so as that it is grown habitual, we shall pass no judgment upon matters we do not understand, and where we do pass a judgment shall be able to confide in its decisions with an unreserved assent and moral assurance not easily susceptible of doubts and misgivings. All that remains to be done is by frequently reviewing the determinations of our reason to fix them strongly upon the imagination, that they may rise there spontaneously in their full colours, whenever wanted; whereby conviction will be turned into persuasion, and if it were upon a point of importance, will become an article of Faith.

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But faith is never so stedfast as when first grounded on solid rational conviction, after having stood the test of the strictest scrutiny that each man has capacity or opportunity to go through: therefore one should be desirous to have the reality of a Providence, that corner stone of all Faith, fully discussed, and every argument that can be suggested in opposition to it fairly examined, that there may remain no suspicion of our having been drawn into the belief of it by the torrent of custom, or our judgment biassed by a secret partiality: for partiality will have an influence here as well as in other matters.

Many persons fond of an uncontrolled liberty of indulging their passions, have been drawn into the disbelief of a God by their earnest desire that there were none: but the Lucretian comfort is none to me, for not to mention that the prospect of annihilation appears to my thinking no very comfortable prospect, nor that my notion of the individuality of every perceptive Being is utterly repugnant to the production of one by a coalition of imperceptive atoms, I say, stepping over these difficulties and supposing it demonstratively proved, that a certain composition of matter might become a reasonable creature, I should not yet be freed from my fears, nor find a salve for them in the thoughts

thoughts of annihilation. For I should presume that whatever power had created me once, might create me again after being annihilated; if a certain lucky assortment of corpuscles could produce me into being before when I was not existent, what should hinder but that another assortment may produce me from non-existence into being a second time? And the several assortments working this effect may be very different for ought I know, for I see no necessary connection between my personality and any particular atoms, or particular position of them among one another. This composition, which goes by the name of Edward Search, might have constituted some other person with still the same material substance, the same texture of brain and sensibility of organs, if chance had so happened: in this case the same Chapters would have been written, and the same enjoyments of life passed through, yet I should have had no share in either, but might perhaps have not been at all, or been some other among those many millions of compositions forming men and animals, each having their respective personalities, their respective volitions, and feelings distinct from those of every other. In like manner among those innumerable sentient compositions which shall continue to be formed after my annihilation

hilation, what assurance have I that my personality may not be annexed to some one of them, so that I may become a Spanish negro, a prisoner in the inquisition, a toad, an adder, or spider, or something more vile and miserable than human experience has yet known, or imagination figured? And all this to depend upon a blind unfeeling inconsiderate chance; which presents a most alarming prospect, involved in darkness, uncertainty, and horror.

Therefore it appears to me an extremely desirable thing, that there should be a Providence extending to all the regions I can possibly be cast upon hereafter, as well as this I now inhabit: and knowing that I have this prejudice, I stand constantly upon my guard against it, lest it should draw me to admit proofs in favor of what I wish too hastily, before having examined them to the bottom, and given a fair hearing to whatever my own thoughts, or the ingenuity of other persons may suggest in opposition. For I want to lay in a stock of solace which shall not fail me in time of need: my reasonings I cannot expect to continue when the weakness of distemper, the consternation of some fatal accident, or the debilities of old age shall alarm me with a near prospect of my end; some conclusions from my former reasonings I may retain, and am willing to have my confidence

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in them strengthened by the consciousness of having drawn them with the utmost impartiality and caution. This consciousness I apprehend is in every body's power to secure, for though all have not the same leisure from the duties of their station to pursue their examination equally far, yet all may proceed with care and impartiality so far as they have opportunities to go, and if they cannot dive to the bottom themselves, they may confide in the judgment of all sober and judicious persons, whom they will find unanimous upon this article.

14. The diffidence of our reasonings proceeds, I apprehend, not so much from flaws discovered in them, as from the want of colours wherewith to paint the conclusions resulting from them, so as to appear clearly visible to our imagination; for they lead into such as are not at all conformable to our experience, nor the scenes exhibited by our senses. For our senses being the first inlets of all our knowledge, we having recourse to their decision upon all difficulties wherever we can (whence comes the saying, that seeing is believing,) and being continually conversant with their objects we find a difficulty in conceiving an idea, that is not made up of materials drawn from them.

With us, not seeing, or not finding a thing capable

capable of being seen, is disbelieving; whatever is such as no man has had experience of, nor can easily be represented to the imagination, seems a vision, an absurdity, a nothing, which no proofs can support. When told of a substance we think it must be something that can be felt, for common language appropriates the epithet substantial to things for their hardness or compactness, therefore we say roast beef is good, substantial food, but water gruel not; and hence it appears unintelligible jargon to talk of a substance that is not the object of any sense. We distinguish the persons of men by their outward appearance, and by their characters and sentiments discoverable in their looks, words, and actions, so have no notion of a person separated from all those organs of motion, and means of expression, whereby they are made known to us. We see that men have eyes to see with, ears to hear, and fingers to touch, and know that if there be any obstruction in those avenues the sensation cannot enter, therefore have no comprehension how there can be perception without any of those inlets, for a sixth sense must be an extravagance because no body ever met with, or heard of a creature possesing it.

We can scarce give entrance to the thought of a Providence working imperceptibly with-

out any of those sensible operations we employ in all our performances: we want to see visible appearances giving motion to massy bodies, to hold discourse with the secret agent, to call for particular events at our pleasure, or at least to find changes made in matter which could not have been affected by any natural powers. Our knowledge of nature extends no further than those qualities of bodies or compositions of bodies falling under our observance, so have no archetypes from whence to draw the image of another nature, proceeding by different laws with differently qualified materials; but the thought revolts against every suggestion of this sort as unnatural and fantastic.

Nevertheless, the senses themselves lead us to the knowledge of something that is not their object if we lay their notices together, for the eye which sees can hear nothing, the ear which hears can see nothing, and the finger which touches can neither see nor hear, but it is the same something which sees, and hears, and feels, and this something must be distinct from the organs which are wholly destitute of each others sensations, and must be a real substance; for what is not so, can no more feel, than be felt. But we esteem the organs parts of ourselves, because we can have no perception of their objects without them:

them: no more can I touch the ceiling without a long pole, nor see the satellites of Jupiter without a telescope; yet I never think them parts of myself, because I can do the same by taking another glass, or without either if I could be raised up near enough to the objects; so that which is capable of perceiving by the organs I now have, may as well be capable of perceiving by other organs wherewith it may hereafter be invested, or perhaps without any organs at all if the objects which lie at a distance without side the body, should be brought within the sphere of its perception.

Or if the idea of a purely spiritual substance be too thin for imagination to take hold on, we may easier comprehend what is not improbable to be the real case, that we have a minute but compleatly formed body within the grosser, fixed in the centre of our nerves, like a little spinner in the centre of his web, who, as Pope says, feels in each thread and lives along the line, with this difference, that the spinner's web hangs in the yielding air incapable of molesting it, whereas ours runs interwoven among the solid bones, the stiff muscles, and other carneous parts, which yet are disposed in such wonderful contrivance as not to hinder or obstruct its vibratiuncles, so that notwithstanding their incumbrance

incumbrance we still can feel in each thread and live along the line. While the spinner remains in this situation, perhaps his sensations all appear received at the further extremities of his threads, he lives only along the line nor perceives himself living or existing anywhere else: yet if you detach him from thence to put him upon a leaf, you can easily imagine how he may run about with his little legs, and receive variety of perceptions without any of his threads.

Then if we consult experience concerning the phenomena apparent to our senses, she will inform us that matter cannot begin an operation without an impulse received from elsewhere; for nothing is so contrary to experience as that a stone should jump and dance about of itself, without any impulsive force to move it; or to reason, as that the particles of air, of fire, or circulating juices in plants and animals should do the same: she likewise tells us, that bodies by their contrary motions may, and continually do destroy one another's impulses, but can never renew them; that we ourselves never act without motives and ideal causes impressed upon us by the operations of matter; therefore that all the action we behold around us, must derive originally from some other agent than matter, or the spirits of men. So that as on

touching

touching upon some desolate island if we found avenues of large trees and ruins of buildings, we should say we saw the hand of man in them, although the men whose works they were had been gone many years ago; in like manner on beholding the course of affairs in this world, we may say with equal propriety, that we see the finger of God therein, although we know not at what remote distance of time that finger gave the touch. And though all nature in our comprehension be comprised in the properties of elementary and other bodies coming within our notice, yet being satisfied that the form of it was established by the choice and energy of the First Cause, there seems no great difficulty in apprehending, that the same agent may have established another nature with elements, compounds, and machineries totally different from any we have yet had experience of.

But it will not suffice for our purpose to run over these contemplations only now and then upon extraordinary occasions, we must endeavour to habituate and familiarize them to our thoughts, that they may occur spontaneously at any intervals of immersion among sensible objects, yet without interruption to the business in hand; which is a branch of that expertness and ease mentioned in § 13 of

CHAP. XXI. of interspersing serious reflections among common transactions without solemnity; for if we have gained this faculty, we may find many opportunities without impediment to any business or diversion going forward, to cast a transient thought upon the probability of the multitudes who have passed off this worldly stage, and particularly our own departed friends, being at that instant as deeply engaged in occupations suitable to their situation, as we are. By frequent practice of this sort we may loosen our attachment to the objects of sense, yet not abate that attention to them which the duties of our present station require, but inure imagination to entertain other ideas besides, which then will not appear strange nor hard of conception in seasons, when we shall want them for our solace, and to occupy the places of such as would only fill us with regret.

15. Yet after all our cares there may still remain an aptitude of certain terrors to rise spontaneously we know not why, either forced upon us by the impression of external objects, or starting up mechanically in the imagination without fresh grounds of alarm to the understanding. For the senses many times affect the mind by an immediate operation: beauty inclines to love, deformity to aversion, nastiness sets our stomachs a kecking, elegance

gance and active scenes make us chearful, close gloomy caverns deject our spirits, and the discoursing or reflection upon those things will have a proportionable effect. So the appearance of graves, or skeletons, or any thing that puts us in mind of death, or even expressions and single words relative thereto, strike the eye and ear with a sudden horror, though not foreboding any particular danger to ourselves.

This effect does not proceed from nature but from early custom, our second nature, for there is no more reason either logical or physiological to be given, why the sight of a human skull and bones in a charnel house should shock us more than the sight of a calve's head or a pair of marrow bones in a dish, for both are emblems alike significant to remind us, that all animals must die; but we have been used from our infancy to be affrighted at the one, and familiarized to the other.

When the wheels of imagination have been once set to this play, they will renew it again of their own accord without any external appearance or visible cause to put them a going. Yet there are several causes frequently not adverted to, where it might prove no small comfort to know them: indigestion, thickness, or poorness of blood, east winds, changes of weather,

weather, want of proper exercise, or engaging employment, to which we may add a stagnation or weariness of thought. For there are people who perpetually puzzle their brains yet can scarce be said ever to think at all, for they fix upon one idea and find no currency nor issue to their thoughts; so they weary themselves without making any progress, and then take the uneasy sensation of this weariness for something terrible in the idea they contemplate. I take this to be the case many times with persons righteous overmuch, who believing themselves under an obligation to think on serious subjects longer than their natural strength will bear, fall into mechanical despondencies, that would be better prevented by a seasonable recreation as soon as they perceive them coming on.

Therefore it behoves us to study our constitution thoroughly, that we may know when the disorder lies in the mind itself, springing from grounds of danger apparent to our understanding, and when it is only sympathetic of a disorder in the body; the latter may be borne with the same resignation as we do other natural evils, for the spirit of a man will bear his infirmities, but a wounded spirit what shall support? by knowing the true place of the wound we shall prevent its ulcerating the mind herself, nor be ready to think

think ourselves undone because the springs of our machine happen to be a little discomposed. But a disorder of the machine, even in the organs of imagination, cannot be cured by arguments, you might as well think of haranguing a man out of a fever, as go to vanish his scruples arising from that cause by the remonstrances of reason: the patient must help himself, and since his malady sprung from habit, he must try to acquire a contrary habit, taking care in the first place to avoid every occasion of encouraging the old one. Therefore it will be dangerous to deal much with gloomy writers, tragical representations, or doleful tales, or to converse with persons that have a knack of giving every thing a melancholy turn, or to indulge a humour of being ruffled at accidents; for there is a near affinity between vexation and fear, the habit of making ourselves soon uneasy by the one, will render us more susceptible of uneasinesses from the other; as on the contrary, if we have been accustomed to possess our minds in tranquillity and even tenour under some situations, we shall the readier learn the art of doing the like under the rest.

Nevertheless it is but a temporary expedient to shut out the thought of our terrors, or try to laugh them off, for when reduced to

the company of doctor, apothecary, and nurse, we shall have no stomach to laugh, nor veil to cover the reflections which then will force in upon us: therefore the abstinence from melancholy subjects I recommended just now is only to prevent aggravations of our distemper; as for that degree of malady we have already, it will be more prudent to probe it to the bottom, to examine frequently the grounds of all our apprehensions at the brightest calmest seasons when we can do it impartially, that they may not give a double shock in coming upon us by surprise, to store up carefully whatever comfortable topics may occur or be suggested, impressing them often upon the imagination until it becomes habituated thereto, to catch what courage we can by sympathy and imitation from such as have it, and choose the conversation of persons who can discourse on solemn subjects with seriousness, and yet with tranquillity and chearfulness.

16. The last source of terror upon quitting this mortal stage is that of an after reckoning; and this I can offer no solid arguments to remove where there is just cause to apprehend it will terminate in our disfavour. For how much soever I have spoken of an equality among all perceptive creatures upon computation made of their enjoyments and sufferings

ings throughout the whole extent of their existence, this does not hinder great inequalities in the several stages of it; and the stage of Being we are next to enter upon, may have a duration exceeding our powers of arithmetic, which makes it an eternity to us, and we are taught to look upon it as such by the best authorities: if there be a third life still beyond, we know of nothing to be done here for affecting our condition therein; so our most important and whole concern lies with that immediately succeeding the present. And the only way to remove our apprehensions upon this article, is by a rational piety, and sound sentiments concerning our relation to God and our fellow-creatures, exemplified in the practice of good works, to remove the causes of them: for though Faith or an habitual right disposition of mind be the saving principle, yet the man who pretends to have Faith but never shows it in his actions, deceives himself, and the truth is not in him.

Nevertheless, as there are misapprehensions concerning the saving Faith, which sometimes occasion very terrifying scruples, I shall offer my idea of it, which whoever pleases may examine in time of health, making such alterations and amendments therein as he shall find reasonable, and store in mind for

his use in time of trial. This Faith then I apprehend to consist in sound sentiments of the divine Attributes, a firm persuasion and trust in the goodness of God, an habitual bent of mind to refer all things to his Glory manifested in the happiness of his creatures, or a hearty disposition to give the greater good a preference before private interest, appetite, and passion, styled in Scripture language coming to the Father; together with such other points of belief as stand so connected with the former, that it cannot be attained nor act vigorously without them, called in the same language passing through the Son.

As for many particulars more strongly stickled for in the Christian world, they seem to me no parts of the thing we are describing; but whoever believes the word of Christ to be the word of God, and that by carefully exercising his reason thereupon he shall find a sure direction for bringing him to the Father, needs no further belief unless such as will strengthen and keep him firm in this. For I have observed in the Chapter of the Trinity, that these are the remote fundamentals which serve like gates and ramparts to protect and conduct into the essentials: in a siege all the fighting is at the outworks, which as mankind stands circumstanced it is necessary to defend

strenuously for sake of the city within: but having no intrinsic value, it is likewise necessary to cast a greater degree of awe and sacredness upon them, because else you cannot make the plain man sensible of their importance, as you can of the moral and theological virtues which have a worth of their own explainable to his understanding. But how safe and prudential soever it may be during the course of our lives to exert a proper vigour in the maintenance of these remote fundamentals, I conceive zeal for forms and staunch orthodoxy no solid ground of comfort in the hour of death, nor of defence in the day of judgment.

I shall remark farther, that Faith, whatever be the proper object, is a habit, not a single act; for the one may subsist while the other cannot be exerted: a man may have a true fondness for hunting or other diversion, yet find no relish for it at particular times when his stomach is full, or his body indisposed; so he may have a real Faith though scarce able to make a faint exercise of it, through some weakness or indisposition of his organs, therefore had better take his estimate from the tenour of his past conduct, than from the present colours in his imagination.

But who can have the testimony of a conscience void of offence? For in many things we

we offend all, where it was possible for us to have acted better: but we must distinguish between what is possible, and what is practicable; every failure of our duty must be in instances where it was in our power to have done otherwise, for what is not in our power cannot be a duty; yet it is impracticable in this vale of mortality constantly to use our power well, so as to perform an unsinning obedience; this perfection is reserved for those who shall inherit the kingdom of the just, and be compleatly saved from the original sinfulness of human nature; to which state we can only make some short advances here. For, as observed in the Chapter on Redemption, we are none of us compleatly saved in this life, having not attained that character of perfect endurance and forbearance which must put us into possession of salvation; yet may not improperly be said to be saved by being entered into a sure way that will conduct us thereto: and if we have continually struggled with our inordinate appetites, and been overcome by them only by surprise or through natural imbecility without deliberate consent of the mind, and have a sincere love of rectitude as a thing desirable of itself without regard to the punishments escaped by it, there is no cause to be affrighted; for there is mercy with God

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as well as justice; the one flows voluntarily from him, but the other is drawn by the exigencies of the creation: and I hope many a man can have the testimony of his conscience for so much as this amounts to. This testimony will find the fairer reception if we have used ourselves to an openness of heart and willingness to think well of other persons, for it is much easier to believe that God is good to many, than to a chosen few; but the rigorous and narrow-minded throw so many difficulties in the way of salvation, that they can never be sure of having surmounted them, themselves: thus it is true in this case that with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again; and I believe the doctrine of the straight gate, as vulgarly understood, has been the source of many disquietudes, which might be removed by the exposition given in the Chapter last cited, yet without abating our vigilance and industry in striving to enter it.

If there should still remain a suspicion that being on our departure, but in the road to salvation not entirely delivered from the corruption of our nature, we may still continue liable to some evils and severe exercises to perfect us compleatly, let us consider that we shall at least be delivered from those troubles which oppress us here: and if there be

be others of another kind needful to be gone through, we may be content to take our share with the rest of our fellow travellers, and may as we proceed onward in our progress be able to bear them better than any we have sustained here; yet not with the Stoical presumption of blunting the edge of them by our sturdiness, for evil were no evil, nor could answer the secret purposes rendering it necessary to be suffered, if the mind were so steeled as not to feel it, but confiding in the Goodness of God that he will lay no burden upon us greater than we shall be able to bear.

17. I have now done my best towards unravelling that texture of terrors which render the thoughts of death so dreadful, and pointing out the topics of consideration by which we may know how to deal with them, and prevent their entangling among one another again. But let no man expect to find a cure upon once giving me the hearing, he had better use what he sees here as hints for giving scope to his own thoughts: for our own imaginations and our understandings are as variously formed as the features of our faces, so that the same object which strikes upon one person with the most forcible colours, scarcely touches another; whatever he can draw from his own sagacity and observation will

will do him more service, than a thousand arguments suggested by any body else, because they will not so readily coincide and join with his usual trains of thinking to make his system all of a piece. Only I beg leave to warn him once more, to keep clear of his But thens, and pursue his reflections upon one source of alarm to the end, before he gives admission to a second; for while he suffers them to break in upon one another, he will never come to an end with any of them.

And I flatter myself that he may find encouragement in the foregoing sections, to enter upon the task with a resolution to make it one principal business of his life; for while the fear of death, which may be stifled during health by a continual round of engagements, is apprehended only for the uneasiness it may occasion for a few days or a few hours on the near approach of his end, he may think it scarce worth while to give himself much trouble or much interruption to the course of his pleasures for sake of escaping so transitory an evil. But upon being put in mind here what methods and habits of thinking are needful to secure him quiet in the day of danger, he will see that by escaping a transient evil he will attain a positive and substantial good, for that many of them will help

help him to pass his time more usefully and satisfactorily in this world, and promote his interests in the next.

For our abhorrences and tormenting passions, as well as the soothing, were designed for our benefit, that in struggling with them we may not only deliver ourselves from their tyranny, but gain the Spolia opima, the richest spoils, in an accession of strength to our spiritual body from the contest. Fear of Death was given to man for its usefulness, for I may style it given although not innate but the child of custom, because the course of affairs in the moral world which introduced the custom that generated it, lay under the disposal of Providence, and it has other uses besides those answered collaterally in the endeavours to master it. It is commonly said a man who values not his own life has every other man's in his power, so that if there were not a sense of self-preservation which makes the law formidable by its capital punishments, there could be no order nor government, the number of housebreakers and banditti must encrease, a great part of mankind would become savage beasts, the more dangerous by how much they have the more cunning.

The dread of death proves likewise some little check to intemperance when the excesses of it have brought them into apparent danger,

danger, it makes them compassionate to sickness and accident for they seldom pity another for the tooth-ach, or other complaint that puts the life to no hazard, to strengthen which sympathizing temper is the use of burial ceremonies, and it puts the giddy upon thoughts of Religion and another world, which would never enter their heads amid the bustle of amusements without some powerful alarm to force a passage: nor is it unavailing to any body so far as it urges him to exert his endeavours to overcome it, not by shutting his eyes against it, for this is more a cowardly flight than a brave conquest, but by taking the proper measures to turn the dreadful object into a harmless one. The cry of Memento mori is generally thought a dismal sound, and so indeed it is become through the indiscretion or artifices of those who make it loudest in such manner as encreases the natural terrors of mankind, that they may govern them the more easily in the confusedness of their minds. Hermits and holy men are described sighing over death's heads, sobbing and groaning at their being men and not angels, practising austerities and self-denials without intermission.

But why do we need a death's head for a memento, when every church-yard, every probate of a will, every newspaper, or wall

of

of a hundred years old, nay every butcher's or poulterer's shop we pass by might do as well, if we turned them that way in our thoughts. If we perceive a use in any particular exercise of austerity or self-denial either for our future ease in this world, or preparation for the next, let us go through it manfully in God's name, with a view to the advantage to be gained thereby, as we encourage ourselves to any other laborious or disagreeable task by prospect of the profit expectant therefrom; but why need we afflict our bodies, only to deject our spirits, and double the horror of that which is formidable enough already?

18. For we shall do well to examine the uses of every measure before we employ it, and know why we wish to keep ourselves and others constantly in mind of our mortality: the memento mori serves first to strike a terror upon the thoughtless, not for the sake of tormenting them, but to bring them into a habit of serious consideration; this point once gained the memento deserves still to be continued, not to encrease their terrors which now are become needless, having already answered their purpose, but with a contrary view, namely, to allay them by so familiarizing the object to their thought, that they may be subject to none of those mechanical

chanical alarms which shock with their suddenness and their strangeness, and by connecting them in train with other lightsome objects which shall take out all the dismal colours. For people who seldom think of death, when forced upon it can think of nothing else, it so fills their imagination; whereas, when used to the reflection it overwhelms with no confusedness, but leaves room and even introduces other ideas of more pleasurable aspect, so that they can think calmly and chearfully while thinking most seriously.

Therefore our endeavours ought to tend to make the memento mori a memento renasci or memento vivere, that the remembrance of our being to die may suggest a remembrance of our being to be born into some other state, and of the manner wherein we are to lay our plan of conduct for this present life. For which purpose it may not be unserviceable to entertain the idea of an Aion, or journey through matter, consisting of several stages whereof the passage through this visible world is one, but divisible into the under stages of gestation, childhood, and manhood.

On our expulsion from the womb we left at once all the provisions for our warmth, for our sustenance, for our circulation, necessary to our support there: in that state we were formed and fashioned with members fitted for

for the conveniencies we now find in them, our eyes and ears and curious organs of sense were frabicated, of no use to us there, but to be of signal service afterwards; it may be presumed we had some pleasurable sensations, some enjoyment of life, and some pains which prompted to many little motions beginning that suppleness of joints and agility of limbs from whence we now reap so continual advantage. In our childhood we were sent to school or apprenticeship, or some other method of preparation for the succeeding stage of life, for I suppose nobody who was assured his son could not live beyond fourteen, would ever think of subjecting him to the discipline of a school; we had our holidays and amusements allowed us there, and have passed our time agreeably, insomuch that many look upon that as the happiest part of our lives: the pleasures permitted us there, were not only compatible with our learning, but had their uses too with respect to our condition of manhood, as they invigorated our health, enlivened our spirits, and whetted our sagacity by the little contrivances we practised to enhance them.

Thus by reflection on the stages we have already passed through as parts in the whole line of our visible existence, we may habituate our minds to the idea of this too being the

the part of a much longer line to run on through many centuries: as upon what passed with us before birth depends our constitution, our natural talents, the limbs, muscles, and fibres which are the sole instruments of our action now, and what passed with us under the schoolmaster, supplied us with the degree of expertness we reap the benefit of in our present occupations; so it is not unlikely that what passes with us now, may contribute to the formation of organs and faculties capable of being employed to better purpose, a hundred years hence. In our infancy we had no notion of the improvements then going forward for our subsequent benefit, and in our youth we could have little more in prospect than the rules and directions prescribed, without discerning the expedience of them; but as the judgment ripens we can discover grounds for the community of interests, and see that our proper direction for attaining a good unknown in the remaining stage of our Aion, is by doing apparent good to ourselves or others, great or small as opportunity serves, for we are members of the community whose interests we are to consult, and true industry will attend to little profits in default of greater, be it only of a present amusement, which is a mite added to the stock of happiness.

Therefore

Therefore the memento is serviceable for keeping us steady in this track, that we may not run a gadding after our fond desires without considering whether any mischievous consequences may ensue. For if by help of this monitor we have been accustomed to carry our references to the glory of God manifested in the good of his creatures, and to receive the enjoyments of life as the bounties of a gracious Father indulgent even to our humours when they can be indulged without hurt, should any body set a death's head before us while busied in our lawful occupations or even in our pleasures that have had licence from our sober judgment, it would be so far from proving an interruption or damping of them, that we might be ready to say, this is nothing new to me, for this I had in my thoughts before when laying the plan I am now pursuing.

19. Whoever once reflects that the improvements needful for his well being in the remaining part of his Aion, are not to be worked by single acts, but an habitual turn of sentiment, and considers how much attention and perseverance are requisite to gain a habit, will not care to lose sight of his memento, lest he should thereby lose all his opportunities till the last moments, when there will not be time for the business he has

to

to do; for if he delays at all, there is a great chance he will delay till then. Procrastination is a habit which like other habits gathers strength by every repeated indulgence, so that if you put off your work to day, you will stand more inclined to put it off to-morrow. Not that I or any body will deny, that a habit may be broken or created by one violent impulse of something operating strongly upon the imagination: a burnt child dreads the fire, being cured once for all of the habit of playing with it: but this very rarely happens, and is never to be depended on upon several accounts.

For there is great hazard of having no opportunity in the last moments: many are cut off by sudden accidents, apoplexies, palsies, and other disorders giving no warning; others will not take warning still flattering themselves to the last, or being flattered by their attendants with hopes of a recovery; most distempers come accompanied with pains and bodily uneasinesses which engross the whole attention, or if the body be tolerably quiet, they darken and weaken the faculties of the mind: so that perhaps there is not one in a hundred who on the last day of their present stage, have it in their power to do any thing effectually for their advantage in the next. And if an opportunity be afforded it is gene-

rally wrested away again by other engagements, the care of settling temporal affairs, the solicitude for destitute children, the vexation of schemes broken off abruptly, the memento now forced in with a sudden shock and appearing in a terrible strangeness, so confuse the mind, that she has no judgment nor calmness to take care of her own concerns.

But supposing sufficient warning, ease of body, clearness and strength of mind, leisure, calmness, freedom from all interruptions, and every thing else you can wish but have no reason to expect, how can you be secure that your repentance will be sincere, that it will be a true metanoia, a thorough change of sentiments and desires? For when destruction hangs over you just ready to seize, your sorrow may be attrition only, not contrition, an abhorrence of the punishment, not of the courses leading into it, without a spark of love to God but in servile submission and dread of his vengeance, without any inclination to virtue, though you wish ardently to have followed it because you wish to escape the mischiefs that might have been prevented thereby. For though fear be the beginning of wisdom it is not perfect so as to answer any good purpose, until the aversion first belonging to the object of fear is compleatly transferred

transferred upon works of folly, and turned into a hearty desire of wisdom; but you can never be certain it is so, until you have had experience of the aversion and desire subsisting at times when the terrible object was not held in contemplation.

Nevertheless, there is a work peculiar proper for the hour of death if it be so circumstanced as that any work can be done in it, recommendable as well to those who have, as those who have not done any good work before. The old proverb holds goods here, better late than never: while there is life, I can scarce say there is hope, but there is a possibility, and who would not bestir himself in a matter of the utmost importance so long as there is a possibility that he may succeed. Some addicted to hard drinking have cured themselves of it by one strong resolution upon a sense of the danger it brought upon their health, others have got rid of a fond passion of love in like manner by a lively representation of the mischiefs attending it: many have been turned by an alarming distemper from a course of dissoluteness and indulgence, to sobriety, and regularity, never afterwards to be parted from; and the great St. Paul was converted from a persecutor to an apostle by a fright: if these persons had been called away immediately after their

change, we cannot doubt but God would have numbered them among the righteous, and that he did so in one instance the trite example of the penitent thief is an evidence. Yet this possibility, which had better be treated with the contempt it deserves while we have length of time and fairer opportunities before us, that we may not be tempted to neglect them for such a slender dependance, can do no hurt by being magnified into a probable assurance to him, who is reduced to it alone: therefore it is rightly done by such as are called in upon these occasions to preach nothing but comfort and hope to the patient from such efforts as he is then able to make; not only for his present quiet which is an object worth regard, but because it may spread a calmness and composure over his thoughts, which will give him the fuller and better use of them: and if he can be brought to suspend his terrors and feel an immediate satisfaction in the topics suggested to him, this may make him see the vanity of sensual pleasures or wordly pursuits and the desirableness of good sentiments, which will go a great way towards infusing them with the force of a habit, and effecting that thorough metanoia which is the one thing needful.

20. Nor need the last hour pass unemployed

ployed with those who have spent many preceding hours with a view to that: their bodily pains and uneasinesses, or if perhaps they have some mechanical tremors of mind they may consider as throes of the new birth introducing them into another world more commodious than this, and with a more agile better-constitutioned body, which whether they fancy it will be six feet high or the thousandth part of an inch it is no matter, so as it be a spiritual body making them almost purely rational creatures with very little of the sensitive, no more than can be well managed by the superior faculties. They will regard this as a last labour finishing the work they had to do here, and if there be any work to do hereafter it will be rendered easy and sure of success by what they have done here, for this life only is a state of probation, the next a state of certainty and uninterrupted progress towards perfection. They know that habits are strengthened by single acts, and the benefit they now find in the good sentiments they have been habituated to by their former conduct will encourage them to expect the like benefit in futurity from such acts of patience, tranquillity, resignation, and trust in the divine goodness, as they are able to exercise.

If they have been always taught to look upon

upon the favors of Heaven as obtained by interest, it is not a time now to deal in argumentations, they must avail themselves of such ideas as they find in their possession, but they cannot have a better patron than their Redeemer, to whom they may resort directly without needing an introduction or other passport beside a sincere love of righteousness, and true cordiality for their fellow members of his body, which he has made the sole conditions of his intercession. Or if they regard his mission and sacrifice as the sole necessary means leading mankind into that righteousness which will make them acceptable to the Father without any interest, and reflect that they attained what degree of righteousness they have by adherence to the doctrines, institutions, and instructions delivered from him, this will confirm their dependence on him for his further aid in their new state of Being: and the signal interpositions of God in his second and third persons to rescue the human race from the corruption of their nature, will be an earnest and experimental proof of his care over them throughout all the stages of their existence.

To which may be added another evidence springing from the contemplation of this world, for their openness of heart and well-wishing eye, quick at descrying prosperities

and

and enjoyments every where, which must have discovered to them a copious flood of bounty poured on man and animal, reptile and insect, wherein themselves likewise have had a share, will have familiarized them to the expectation of a nature and course of events called fortune, together with divine interpositions if there be vacancies left requiring them in that part of the universal plan respecting other worlds, not less beneficent and gracious than those whereby sublunary affairs have been conducted.

These reflections inducing a serenity of mind and acquiescence in the summons whether given by the call of nature or of accident, they need not want employment in ruminating on such sound sentiments concerning the divine Attributes and government of Providence, as having been deeply inculcated by their former reasonings and a conduct conformable thereto are become firm persuasions or articles of Faith. To which may be added any little kind offices of charity which occur readily without solicitude, to hunt for them, and can be performed without much exertion. But I do not men leaving legacies to pious uses, for this is not so much giving as compelling executors to give, but whatever may be profitable whether by way of admonition or example to others who stay behind.

behind. For the solemnity of the scene makes every little object strike a strong impression, not presently to be defaced: so that a single word, a gesture, or composure of countenance of a dying person may do signal service to the by-standers, or others to whom they report it. And charity being the fulfilling both of law and gospel, the best ruling principle to guide the conduct of our lives, the only one of the three virtues which will bear us company into the other world, we cannot end out course in this, better than by an act of Charity.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

CONCLUSION.

My labours are now drawn to an end, not by having exhausted my subjects, which perhaps were inexhaustible, but my stock of materials: and labours they have been to me, who, wanting that readiness of thought and expression which many people have at command, found great difficulty in collecting and digesting my matter, drawing out the threads of argumentation, preventing them from entangling, guarding against misapprehensions, and against giving occasion for

inferences to be drawn from my words which I never intended. The women generally end their letters with, Excuse mistakes through haste, and many male authors affect to give you a hint, that they could have done better if they had a mind or would have allowed themselves more leisure: but I happen not to be of a humour to desire excuse for mistakes through haste, I had rather the reader should stand satisfied of my care and honest zeal in his service though at the expence of my abilities, and believe where he sees a blemish, that I should have done better, if I had known how. For of how little importance soever this attempt may prove, it seemed the most important I was qualified to undertake; and I have laid down all along that it is not so much the significancy of the part assigned, as the just and diligent performance of it that merits a plaudit.

Having this testimony of my own conscience, I may now make holiday with a quiet mind, and with the same joy as a workman upon having finished his task before the evening of his day is quite spent; but my pleasure is considerably abated by finding the performance fall short of the idea preconceived at entering upon it. Nevertheless, I may comfort myself with this being a common accident happening to thousands besides myself:

myself: the projects of ambition, the contrivances of avarice, almost all the schemes of life, whether in great designs or small, promise more than they perform, not only by rubs falling in the way, but when suffered to take their course they give greater expectation in the embryo, than satisfaction in their full maturity. And it is necessary they should do so, that the business of the world may go currently forward, for our indolence is so lumpish that it cannot be stirred unless by flattering hopes; we will not work for small wages and do not deserve great, therefore when Providence has any little service to put us upon we are permitted to magnify it in our imagination, or else we should want ardour to exert ourselves; yet when the toil is over it is quickly forgotten, like the pains of a woman upon her delivery, and one may rest contented with a less favourable success than was necessary for one to undergo it. I now perceive by experience that my design required a more expert and masterly hand to execute, appearing as here managed rather a tissue of separate essays, than a neat compact and workmanlike composition, strengthened in all its parts by their mutual dependence and clear connection among one another; yet has it something of a shape and a juncture between the principal members.

2. My

2. My aim in the first volume was to bring men acquainted with their own nature, the frame and texture of their composition consisting of a perceiving part, and a machinery of organs and instruments to serve its uses; to distinguish between secondary properties resulting from composition, and the primary belonging separately to the parts, which are the foundation of the other; for if one of the wheels in a watch were changed for a waxen wheel, the watch could not go; to observe that a compound can neither act nor receive action within itself unless by an operation of some one of the parts upon another, for in all action there must be a disinct agent and a patient; and to discern that the common transactions of life, each whereof we are obliged for convenience sake to esteem one entire action, are divisible into many little motions or acts succeeding one another instantaneously, one compleated before the other begins.

The next enquiry runs upon the causes of action, with an endeavour to show, that the mind never stands indifferent to operate either in her great or small, her deliberate or sudden motions without some view however transient to prompt her; that this view always contains an idea of her own immediate satisfaction, under which term I take leave for brevity

brevity sake to comprehend the escape from uneasiness: but that naked satisfaction cannot be had alone without some sensation, or other pleasing idea to introduce it, which therefore as it occurs is the motive determining to every exercise of our activity.

It seemed then to follow in order, that we should search out the rise of our ideas from the two funds of sensation and reflection, how they unite into combinations and trains supplying us thereby with apprehensions, opinions, assents, and judgments. It appeared expedient likewise to distinguish the two faculties of imagination and understanding, the former the executive power, having for the most part the direction of our conduct, the latter the legislative, to be resorted to only upon great occasions, and serviceable chiefly for putting the other into proper trains: from whence it appears that we are sensitivo-rational creatures, having a larger mixture of the sensitive than the rational, more of the brute than the angel in our composition, and must learn to treat ourselves accordingly with discipline and honest artifice.

From this we pass on, perhaps a little immethodically, to the variety and generation of motives, touching upon the passions, affections, aversions, and habits which give most of them their currency and colour, and have their

their seat in the imagination. After this to bring the multitude of our motives into some distinguishable order we distribute them into four general classes, Pleasure, Use, Honour, and Necessity.

Having done for the present with imagination, we consider the faculty of reason, which must have some certain end to pursue: this proves to be the same as that which actuated the other faculty, with this only difference, that imagination with all her train of passions, appetites, and desires, catches always at the satisfaction of the present moment, whereas reason looks forward to all distances and all quarters to find the larger sum of satisfactions, or greater good that will result from her measures. Nevertheless reason is too short-sighted to discern clearly or make just computation of all the consequences to follow upon the measures she has under deliberation, therefore must take some rule, the product of her former exercises or of other persons' experience and judgment, for her mark of direction; so that her ultimate end is very rarely her ultimate point of view, yet is it her business always to extend her view as far and wide as opportunity or the prospect lying before her, will permit. But when she has fixed upon her point whether ultimate or subordinate, it will avail nothing, imagination

tion being the executive faculty, until she has raised an appetite or habit there, creating an immediate satisfaction in the prosecution, or uneasiness in deviating from it.

Hence spring the virtues, which are habits or turns of sentiment inclining spontaneously to such points of aim or courses of action as sober reason and sound judgment would recommend: and hence likewise it is dangerous to break the force of a virtue for sake of some apparent good, because greater good may be lost for want of this impulse at other times, when the line of expedience is not so apparent. This being the nature of the virtues, it is evident their foundation must stand upon Prudence, which is the habit of weighing distant good and expedience in a fair balance with present pleasure, or of being affected with remote satisfactions and evils, as strongly as with those that are nearer. The other cardinal virtues are only particular exercises of Prudence under the attacks of danger or pain, the allurements of pleasure, or temptations of self-love drawing us into a total disregard of our fellow-creatures: the last I have split into two, making a fifth cardinal of Benevolence, which seems naturally distinguishable from the obligations of Justice, for kindness does not begin till obligation ends.

Having

Having collected these grounds I thought it might be expedient to sketch out a plan of morality such as would lie thereupon, defective indeed, not in the main drift of the design, for it would be hard upon any hypothesis to assign an ultimate end beyond that of each man's own good, but in the scantiness of our limits, being confined only to the pleasures of this present life. But it was advisable to go through with the examination of human nature, and form something of a regular system out of the materials furnished by continual experience, before we proceeded to the consideration of futurity: because men are so attached to their own peculiar notions upon matters relative to futurity, that they will deny experience itself if they perceive it leading into a way they do not like. The safest course to escape the bad influence of prejudice, must be by first marshalling all the stores we can gather from experience in their proper order, that we may know where to find them again upon occasion, and then applying them to correct or serve for the basis of our speculative opinions.

And the observant reader will perceive in the sequel, that the subjects handled throughout this volume are not the playthings of wanton curiosity, for I make frequent use of them

them afterwards, when coming to higher matters. But if he expects to profit by me, he must still make large use of his own understanding for putting the rude ill-joined materials presented him into neater order, shaping and polishing them in his own manner to have a coincidence with his ordinary trains, that they may lie ready and convenient for his service.

Nor will it not be needful to familiarize his thoughts to the difference of primary and secondary qualities, the analyzation of action, the deliberate and transient motives, the two faculties of imagination and understanding, the ultimate end and ultimate point of view, and other minute but useful distinctions which I have called figuratively microscopic observations. For if these things are to be scrutinized over again every time application is made of them, the sequel in many places will appear dry, toilsome, and unintelligible, but with a readiness in them he will be able to judge easily and clearly what is, or is not worth his reception afterwards.

3 The scope of my third and fourth volumes tends to supply the deficiency left in the former by such researches as we are able to make into futurity, the first point whereof must be to inquire whether we are likely to have a continuance

tinuance therein: and this depends upon our being compound or simple substances, for the laws of nature can only produce or destroy the former by bringing the materials of them together, or dissolving them again, but have no power over the latter either to encrease or dimish their number.

In order to discuss this point we are still obliged to employ the microscope for examining the nature of composition, which appears to be nothing else than a certain arrangement or juncture of substances, each having a distinct existence of its own before their coming together: so that a compound is no new existence, but a collection of things already existent though perhaps not discoverable by our senses, and upon the compound being destroyed, there is not a being lost, though perhaps the parts may be dispersed beyond reach of our observation. But neither can a collection or compound perceive without a distinct perception in all its constituent parts, for if some of them have a perception the others want, it is the parts and not the compound that perceives; so that perception must be a primary property, not a secondary resulting from composition. Therefore from the consciousness of our personality and existence, and from our perceptivity may be inferred, that we are individuals or simple

substances, not consisting of parts, nor destructible by all the powers of nature.

From the faculty of perceiving likewise it appears that we are not material substances, for it is of the essence of matter to be inert and stupid, nor would a grain of sand placed in the most exquisite organization perceive ever the more, therefore being incapable of receiving the notices brought to it from external objects: and this substance specifically different from matter is called spirit, which wherever it shall fall, or of what compound soever it may become an ingredient, will still retain the same personality, and always continue to be our very selves.

Nevertheless, the discovery of our perpetual duration will avail us little without some further light into the manner how it may pass, whether in satisfaction or uneasiness, of both which we are capable. But here experience can give us no help, for we must expect to lose all intercourse with the objects from whence we receive our satisfactions, by losing our organs which were the channels through which they flowed; nor have we any experiment whereon to found a conjecture in what manner the floating particles of matter may affect us without organs. We must now therefore take the telescope in hand, as having distant objects and extensive prospects

to

to behold, and must survey the face of nature lying visible before us, which experience testifies is a tissue of effects produced by a train of operations depending upon one another: this line we must investigate up to its original, which will quickly lead us to a God, the fountain of all powers, and intelligent disposer of all events we see around us.

Having found there is a God, the next step of enquiry tends to the knowledge of what he is, which we can only gather from contemplation of visible nature whereof we have experience, together with such conclusions as we can draw from thence in our considerate judgment concerning the character, and attributes of its Author. Of these attributes I first consider only the primary, postponing those I call secondary, as resulting from the nature of the creatures considered jointly with that of God, till a better opportunity. Perhaps I may be singular in having made an attribute of Equity which is commonly blended with that of Justice, but seems to me apparently distinguishable from it; the one making a difference between persons according to their deeds, the other void of all partiality, favour, or predilection, and no respecter of persons. And I should be glad the intelligent reader would examine this

point thoroughly in his own mind before he goes on, because if I have made a mistake any where it is the most unlucky here, as being the corner stone of my subsequent building. He may please to consider among all the causes that can incline to partiality or favor of one person above another, whether they must not proceed from some want or weakness which can have no place in the Almighty: and if he thinks an attribute of Equity most agreeable to his reason, he may suspend objections arising from the various distributions of fortune among mankind, and from Scripture, until he sees in the sequel how far I can bring them reconcileable therewith.

Yet I do not pretend to give this list of attributes for a compleat analysis of the divine nature, for there must be other attributes besides, whereof we can have no imagination to account for the origin of evil, the limitation of goodness, and the effects of it being conveyed by the contrivances of wisdom, rather than the operations of power; for to our apprehension it seems that Omnipotence might have distributed what portion of good and evil was judged proper to the creatures by immediate acts, as well as by a long complicated tissue of second causes. But since the method of acting by the intervention

vention of second causes has been constantly pursued so far as our experience and observation can reach, it may be presumed the divine conduct is uniform and of a piece throughout, and therefore that there is a plan of nature extending to the invisible world, whereof this of the visible is a part, the second causes employed in the one being calculated to produce effects in the other. And it being impossible for us certainly to investigate in what particular manner the causes at work here can effect our condition hereafter, or to know what scenes may pass with us then, there seemed no hurt in imagining a manner in order to render our general idea of being so affected less hard of conception: for as observed in a former volume, imagination is our strongest faculty, and the convictions of reason seldom have much weight or duration unless they can be represented in sensible images upon that. In this view I have ventured upon my two hypotheses of the Vehicles and the Mundane Soul carried on in the Vision, as a narrative of matters of fact, the better to illuminate my idea with visible colours. I am not conscious of those notions being hurtful to the substantials of Religion or doctrines of the Church, on the contrary, I have sometimes found a use for them in treating upon those matters,

matters, and their being capable of this service, if it be not thought an evidence in their favour, may at least pass for my excuse in entertaining them.

From these speculations I proceed to the dominion of Providence extending to all events, comprehending every minute motion that may influence them, and leaving no room for chance to interfere. From hence may be gathered, that there is a plan of Nature and texture of second causes spreading over all regions of the universe, yet not excluding immediate interpositions interwoven therein, to be exerted at predetermined times for supplying of vacancies, left on purpose for making them requisite. But difficulties being apt to start in this idea of Providence, as appearing subversive of liberty, it was necessary to enter into a minute discussion of this privilege in human nature, in order to show that a man is free when nothing hinders him from doing or choosing just as he pleases, notwithstanding the certainty of prior causes inclining him to choose or act in one particular manner, and to make it intelligible how Providence may govern the actions of men by having the sources of their inclinations, motives, and apprehensions at command, as well as by compulsive force or authority.

I come

I come now to make application of what we have been able to gather from our experience and meditations thereupon, concerning visible nature and the divine; from all which it appears, that as all matter is homogeneous, the same every where in solidity, mobility, and other primary properties, the difference of quality and operation in bodies resulting from their composition or arrangement of parts, and the action of other bodies upon them; so have we no colour of evidence to disprove that all created spirits are likewise homogeneous, possessed alike of perceptivity, activity, and other primary properties, their differences arising solely from the material organizations wherewith they are united, or the action of other substances affecting them and their secondary qualities, as also their perceptions varying according to changes made in the material composition, or in the substances whereamong they are conversant. But the laws respecting the formation of all compounds, and the particular operations of all substances, being comprised within the universal plan of Providence, whatever good any creature receives, whether procured by his own industry, or conveyed by the channels of nature or fortune, must derive originally from the divine bounty, with certain knowledge

knowledge and direct intention that it should come to his hands.

Then taking into consideration the attribute of Equity, by which the distribution of bounty must be regulated, there will follow an exact equality upon the balance of good and evil allotted to every perceptive creature. Nevertheless, this equality in their whole portion is not inconsistent with inequalities in the present world, where they receive a very small part of it, but requires inequalities in some other parts to compensate the differences made here. Nor can it be thought an improbable conclusion, that there is some immense period wherein the balance between all creatures, although greatly unequal for a time, shall be brought even at last. Hence follows a general connection of interests throughout the universe, a partnership in one common stock, which cannot be encreased or diminished in any individual without proportionably affecting the share of every other: so that every hurt done by one creature to another hurts his own interests, as every good advances them, and every dispensation of Providence bringing damage upon individuals, must, to be consistent with our ideas of goodness and equity, terminate in some greater good of the creation, and therein of the party sustaining it.

I then

I then examine into the secondary attribute of Justice, having its foundation in the short-sightedness of the creatures, and their insensibility to distant advantage needful enough for spurring them up to work in the attainment of good unseen, or too remote to touch their desire, by the nearer expectation of reward and punishment, which though distributed according to the conduct past, it is always with a view to their influence upon the future, and this influence they may sometimes have when brought upon one person by the deeds of another. From these observations it follows, that punishment cannot be absolutely endless, which would violate Equity by keeping the balance perpetually on one side: for since wickedness is permitted by Heaven, and it must needs be that offences come, undoubtedly for some necessary uses of the creation redounding from their punishment, there would be a partial withholding of bounty, unless the sufferer were to take his share in the benefit of those severe services he is permitted to go through.

This is the only point I am sensible of, whereat offence may be taken, as seeming contradictory to a received opinion; for which reason I would gladly have suppressed it but could not, it being a principal link in the chain of reasoning, whereby the interests of

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our fellow-creatures are connected with our own, from whence I conceive all the rules and duties of life may be derived. If I have erred, it has been in company with men of great note even in the Church, and hope to stand acquitted of having proceeded wantonly, with a disregard to consequences, by the pains taken to expatiate upon the intenseness of punishments to continue for a duration, whereof no man knows the bounds; which may well be styled an eternity in the language of the poor to whom the Gospel was preached. For though to God a thousand years are but as one day, to us they are an eternity, the utmost length of our view and our concern: and it were happy for us, if we never deemed a much shorter length expected to pass in the pleasures of this world an eternity, beyond which we need take no thought. The subtle speculations concerning the possibility of successive eternities to follow one another, if blameable, will show me too zealous rather than too indifferent in saving the credit of established tenets from being shaken by any thing I have advanced.

Thus having shown in the first volume that each man's own satisfaction, interest, or happiness is the primum mobile or first spring of all his schemes and all his actions, as well rational as inconsiderate, and that the acqui-

sition

sition of moral prudence or the sensibility of enjoyment certainly to come at any distance of time equally with the present, is the sole and ready road to attain that purpose; having then in this volume deduced the connection of interests, throughout the creation whereby every individual becomes interested in the good or evil befalling any where: from these two premises follows the grand fudamental rule of conduct of labouring constantly to encrease the common stock by any beneficial service or prevention of damage among our fellow-creatures wherever we can, preferring always the greater discoverable good and good of the greater number, before the less.

4. My design in the fifth volume was to bring our theory reconcileable to practice, in order whereto the great fundamental rule is first parted into two main branches, Prudence and Benevolence, commonly called our duty to ourselves and to our neighbour, the one directing to the care of our private interests, the other to those of our fellow-creatures with whom we have a visible intercourse: for we are members of the universe, therefore whatever we can do for ourselves without greater detriment to any other, is an increase of happiness upon the whole, and by preventing others from encroaching upon us, or forbearing

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ing to encroach upon them, we alike save the common stock from diminution.

But since to keep us steady in the exercise of these two branches it is necessary to inculcate just sentiments of the supreme Being, because it is by the knowledge of his Attributes alone that we can discover any thing with assurance concerning things invisible, or trace the connection of interests, or discern any measures of conduct in this world conducive to the improvement of our condition in the next; hence arises a third branch of the fundamental rule, our duty to God. For the foundation of this duty is not the obligation of serving God himself, of which we are utterly incapable, but because by so doing we serve ourselves, and one another most effectually. This duty is fulfilled by the best exercise of our rational faculties to form the soundest notions they are able to reach of his essence and manner of government, and then employing such expedients as the nature of our constitution requires to impress them deeply upon the imagination, that they may rise spontaneously in their genuine lively colours. But the understandings and imaginations of men being very various, it seemed an useful attempt to explain the distinction so much talked of among philosophers, between the esoteric and exoteric doctrines,

doctrines, and to show that they were not contradictory to each other, nor the one a concealment of treasures, or the other an imposition upon the vulgar, but both an expression of the same substance in different languages, accommodated to the difference of conception among mankind.

Here seemed the proper place to discourse on the three remaining secondary Attributes, namely, Purity, Majesty, and Holiness, which are rather of the exoteric kind, being not expressive of any thing in the divine nature, but preservative of the idea of it in our hearts against heterogeneous mixtures insinuating from the imperfections of man, for man being made after the image of God, it was natural to take our idea of him from his likeness; but then we must remember, there are many features in the image utterly unlike the original, and be careful to admit none of them into the composition.

The last of these subjects gave occasion for endeavouring to remove a scruple that might have arisen from our doctrine of universal Providence extending to all events, produced as well by man as by matter, and showing that God notwithstanding can in no propriety be styled the author of sin, nor do his provisions give a sanction or warrant to the commission, nor exempt it from being an

act

act of disobedience, nor from the punishment consequent thereupon. The Chapter on Providence in the fourth Volume having been mostly esoteric scarce applicable to common use, it was needful here to resume the subject more in the other language, and show that although all events without exception were contained within the plan of Providence, nevertheless there is a profitable distinction to be made between those which are providential, and others which are not: this disquisition perhaps contains more striking evidences even of the being of a God though not more solid, than those produced in the beginning of the third Volume: and some persons of good common sense who had the patience to hear my works only because they were mine, have declared that this was the first Chapter wherein they found me intelligible.

5. Hitherto I have proceeded by the sole light of nature; I come now to compare the discoveries made thereby with those imparted to us from the religion wherein we were bred up, in order to find what there is of conformity between them, and with a desire of bringing them conformable in points where they have been thought to stand at variance; agreeably to my principal intention set forth in the general introduction of effecting a reconcilement between contending parties rather

rather than taking side with either, to which design the observant reader may already have perceived a tendency at several times by occasional allusions and introduction of passages from the sacred text; but having now gotten together and prepared my materials, it is a proper time to enter directly upon the application.

The title Religion prefixed to the next chapter belongs rather as a running title to the whole remainder than to this particular chapter, which contains little more than an address to both parties, suggesting a presumption that if one would always strive to find a rational construction agreeable to our natural notions in the divine oracles, and the other would consider the facts of the evangelic history, though supposed to proceed from merely natural causes, as events extremely providential, having an extensive beneficial influence upon mankind, the result of both would terminate in a system of sentiment and conduct very little different in substantials: and exhorting them to deal with one another not as adversaries, but as persons in an amicable conference upon their common interests, for so the issue of their conference may justly be deemed, because, the general connection throughout the universe being borne in mind, whoever hurts himself hurts

me, therefore if I think another in a wrong way I shall endeavour to bring him into the right by such methods as are likely to prevail with him, but if I cannot do that, I shall strive to turn his own opinions to his greatest advantage. But the work of reconcilement being a very nice business to manage, requiring a sober freedom and strict impartiality void of all bias or prejudice, it was needful enough for my own direction to examine what is true freedom of thought, and wherein it differs from bigotry on the one hand, and that called freethinking on the other; and to take warning against every danger that might threaten our liberty of judgment, whether from scrupulous fear, obstinate attachment to old notions, fondness for novelty, secret self-conceit, or the vanity of doing something extraordinary. This blemish of human nature creeping in some measure upon us all, extending its influence to all our motions as well momentous as trifling, deserved a particular discussion, the drift whereof was to ascertain the difference between true and false honour: for honour being the source both of the brightest virtues and most pernicious extravagances it was attempting a good service to settle it upon its proper foundation, which is the prospect of attaining things excellent in themselves, rather

rather than that of excelling or surpassing other persons.

Armed with these cautions I enter upon some of the doctrines of our religion, for I do not undertake to go through with them all, that would have been above my pitch, but what I have done may serve as a specimen of what is capable of being done this way, which may encourage abler hands more expert at the task to compleat what I have left defective. But the reader must not expect to see me enter into the evidences proving the truth of those doctrines, this would have been a violation of my neutrality necessary to be adhered to in a scheme of reconcilement, because without it there can be no hopes of gaining a favourable attention from the opposite parties: it was my business only to examine how they are capable of being understood, and to seek for such expositions as they may easily receive without changing or wresting a single word in the forms delivered, as might be reconcileable with our knowledge of nature, with philosophy, and with the tenor of the foregoing work; nor have even my hypotheses been unserviceable in some places for explaning my idea. And I have succeeded so far in my own apprehension, as that the chapter on things above and contrary to reason is become almost

superfluous, having by turning the subject about in my thoughts brought some points to lie commodiously within the compass of my own reason, which I had thought inexplicable at the time of writing that chapter.

In touching upon the mysteries I shall wish to put myself upon the judgment of persons who can see an honest intention though wrapped round in the mists of error; with others an inadvertent word upon such sacred subjects is deemed as the sin of blasphemy. I by no means desire to lessen their veneration for those subjects, but have offered reasons why a greater degree of sacredness is, and ought to be, sometimes annexed to outworks than to the substantials within; so that the sacredness of a tenet is no certain mark of its being an essential ingredient of the saving Faith. The having just sentiments of our Maker, of his government, of our dependence on him, and of the relation we stand in to one another as children of the same father, I take to be the essentials of natural Religion: submission to Christ, taking his word for the word of God, reliance on his institutions and assistance for conducting us into the former, or being persuaded that no man can come to the Father unless through the Son, I take to be the essentials of

of Christianity: all particular articles beside I humbly conceive to be no more than necessary outworks for protecting the substance and therefore demand a sacred veneration in proportion to the danger that substance must be exposed to by abandoning them. But it is well known the rules of fortification vary in different ages, therefore some defences, which were indispensable formerly, may be safely slighted now, and of those which remain, the angles and breastworks may be new planned to accommodate them to the modern methods of attack, as carried on by the great Demetrius Poliorcetes, the Freethinker, who batters not with the balistæ and catapulta of old, drawn from the Fathers, the Councils or the Mishna, but with cannon and musketry and even squibbs of witticism, stolen and transmodified from the storehouse of Philosophy.

After the doctrines next in order follow the virtues comprised under three general heads, carrying a consistency with the cardinal virtues of philosophy. I have endeavoured to rescue Faith from the imputation of being no voluntary act of the mind, by explaining its nature upon the basis of our sensitivo-rational constitution, and showing that it is not assenting to certain propositions, but turning the convictions of our understanding into

habitual, lively apprehensions of the imagination that constitutes it a virtue. If the province of Faith according to my representation be thought too comprehensive, as extending to the inclinations of the heart as well as the opinions of the mind, it may be considered that happiness in the prospect depends wholly upon opinion, and our desires follow our persuasions, for we take affection to things because we believe they will prove satisfactory in the possession, the pursuits of avarice, ambition, and all other schemes that engage us so eagerly, proceed upon this foundation: therefore if a man could have a perfect knowledge and lively apprehension of every thing conducive to his benefit, his desires would be rightly set; and the whole tenour of his conduct run in a right course by necessary consequence: for we all live by faith of some sort or other, though too often it is a rotten one: whence apparently it is a matter of the utmost importance to work our soundest conceptions into vigorous apprehensions, for till then they are not compleatly our own, nor will have an influence upon our practice.

Upon the article of Charity which in vulgar estimation may be defined giving guineas to the Church and half-pence to beggars, I have strove to restore it to its rightful dominion, extending

extending in wish and disposition, like the bounty of Heaven, to all created beings without respect of persons, but confined in its exercises by the scantiness of our powers to the degrees of neighbourhood wherein they respectively are situated, even contentions and the hurts done to some having their foundation in Charity to others; and to show how there may be Charity towards God, although we stand in no capacity to do him any service or kindness.

6. Having gone thus far in this dispensation of God to mankind, whether you suppose it conveyed by his ordinary or extraordinary Providence, it appeared not unserviceable to take a fuller survey of the administration of the moral world, and observe the share this had therein. In doing this I lay no stress upon prophecy and miracle, as being contested points unfit for the use of a neutral, but proceed upon historical facts notorious to every body; from the course of which may be gathered, that there is a progress towards perfection of the human species, in general analogous to that of single persons through the stages of infancy, youth, and compleat manhood, carried on by the workings of three great springs, Religion, Philosophy, and the science of common life, concurring by slow and imperceptible degrees,

and

and sometimes with temporary retrogressions to advance the grand design.

If I have touched upon the Millennium, it was not to dwell upon number sixes nor the precise term of one thousand years, nor the return to earth in gross bodies like our present; for these things are figurative, denoting a time of perfect righteousness, moral wisdom, and happiness, which whether it shall pass upon this terraqueous globe or among the Vehicles, it is no matter: but this kingdom of the just will be the kingdom of Christ or state of reward, as the absorption in the Mundane Soul, when he delivers up all dominion to the Father, will be the kingdom of God or state of undistinguishing bounty. From hence, besides the general connection of interests throughout the universe, there results a nearer connection among the human species, because none of the inheritors of the kingdom of the just can be compleatly happy, until all are so by their common nature being perfected; which yields an additional incitement to seize every little opportunity of contributing towards an advancement of the great work, and to prevent every thing that appears likely to retard it.

It might have been thought a suspicious silence, if I had said nothing of the rites and institutions of the Church; therefore I have taken

taken some of them into consideration, still pursuing my plan of reconcilement between authority and reason; for I have proceeded upon a postulatum which I apprehend many very good and orthodox Christians will grant me, namely, that the commands of God are none of them arbitrary, but given for the benefit redundant therefrom to the receivers; and though it be no warrant for us to reject a command, because we see no benefit, for we ought to trust the wisdom of the giver that there is some which our short sightedness will not permit us to discern, yet it is a commendable enquiry to search so far as we can into the manner wherein the benefit accrues, because it will help to discover the design of the command, and to perform it according to the spirit rather than the dead letter. This is what I have aimed at doing upon the articles taken in hand, endeavouring to explain how they may be rationally understood, what is their efficacy and manner of operation, and how they are calculated for our sensitivo-rational nature to bring imagination to act in the services of reason. If my explications have rendered them less mysterious, I hope it will not lessen our reverence and attachment to find their uses made intelligible, and be shown they have a solid foundation in human nature, and the knowledge springing from experience.

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The consideration of religious institutions being dispatched so far as any thing pertinent occurred upon the subject, there remained something to be added concerning the spirit and principle of religion in general, to rescue it from the extravagances fastened thereupon by some indiscreetly righteous persons, with good intention I am willing to believe, but dangerous in the consequences, as tending to drive the weak into dispair by setting them upon tasks far beyond their forces, and to draw them off from their duty to their neighbour and themselves, by a mistaken zeal in their duty to God. I have attempted to explain what is to be understood by doing all things for the divine Glory, showing first that it is speculatively possible, next how far it is practicable as men stand circumstanced, and lastly recommending some means for encreasing in the practice of it. The principal difference between me and the persons just mentioned, lies in their employing so perpetually the motives of fear and obligation, which I would get rid of as fast as we can substitute a better principle in their room. I know the work must be begun by fear, and that there hangs an obligation upon us all to do our best, but if we can learn to fulfil our obligation without thought of its being one, I conceive we shall succeed better: nor are divine services compleatly acceptabe until

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we can perform them upon inclination and persuasion of their being beneficial, without being dragged thereto by the reflection of their being duties.

From the topics of philosophy and religion I have descended to some practical subjects applicable to the conduct of life, which having been treated of more amply by many abler hands I could not expect to add any thing material to what has been done by them, but was willing to show that my speculations may be turned to common use by deducing from, or correcting by them such rules and observations, as may prove of general service: subjoining thereto a few thoughts relative to education and such methods for curing the fear of death, as in the pursuit of them may prove profitable to us while living, and yield us a benefit for ages after.

7. By this miniature of my performance, which like a convex mirror strengthens the colours, and takes off the coarseness of objects by contracting them, or like the chart of a wilderness produces a discernible form by drawing all the mazes within compass of a single view, it may possibly be seen there is a uniform design pursued steadily throughout, a contexture of sinews and muscles deriving strength from their mutual dependance, and

forming

forming something of a regular body, yet disguised by the unskilful manner of putting the limbs together, and defective in point of symmetry or elegance of shape.

It is customary to give the reader his bill-of-fare beforehand, but it was not in my power to gratify him herein, having not been able upon repeated trials to sketch out the lines of my design, so as to leave nothing more to do afterwards than fill up the colourings. Pursuits and enquiries are generally only descriptions of a route already preconcerted and travelled over by the author in his own mind, and this may be the most masterly way of proceeding for such as can take it; but my enquiry has been a real one even to myself, producing discoveries of tracks I was wholly unacquainted with at setting out, often not knowing what would be the subject of the next Chapter until the preceeding was ended, sometimes forced to rehandle my premises to fit them for a further application, and continually finding my materials grow out of one another. Perhaps it has happened never the worse either for myself or my readers, that I could not do otherwise, having thereby escaped the influence of that prejudice mentioned above in the second section; for when there is a scheme ready prepared, one lies under a temptation of misap-

misapprehending or undesignedly wresting facts in order to accommodate them cleverly thereto; and as few people are without their schemes, they will not look with an impartial eye upon any thing offered to them which they foresee or suspect will contradict any part in that they have already adopted: besides that, when it is known beforehand what is to come, there arises an impatience of arriving at it too hastily without fully digesting the matters necessarily preparative thereto: therefore it is safest to examine the foundations first by themselves, without casting an eye upon any thing else; and when they are well settled, then is the time to consider what superstructures may be raised thereon: nor is it always necessary that the superstructures should be novel, for we may find old ones that will stand firmly upon our groundwork after having a little smoothed their bottoms, and struck off the tottering stilts upon which they had been awkwardly hoisted before. This is what I have all along been more desirous of doing, than of drawing conclusions entirely my own, having so much deference for the general opinions of mankind, as to presume them just if they could be cleared from the misconstructions, colourings, and excrescences which make them appear to rest upon a false foundation.

8. For

8. For the manner of handling my subjects I shall need great allowances and for those who are disposed to make none, I shall be best pleased if they should happen to disagree among themselves in the particular spots they condemn: for as I have had different persons in view, it was impossible to hit the taste of every one, it will be great luck if he finds something suiting it in places that others dislike. Some may think me too light and others too profound, or perhaps find me guilty of both extremes at different times: but they will please to distinguish when the obscurity is unavoidable as arising from the nature of the subject, and when owing to unskilful management, charging the latter only to my account; and may ascribe the levities and singularities of thought to a desire of enlivening abstruse matters, and rendering them visible by familiar images, not always chosen by the courtly standard, for want of perfect acquaintance with modern delicacy.

For I live a good deal retired within myself, little conversant with political or other performances of general currency among my compatriots, so perhaps have taken too strong a tincture from the exceptionable parts in the ancients, among whom I find Plato, mingling low humour and coarse objects among the most serious subjects, and Homer comparing

paring Ajax to an ass drubbed by boys, Agamemnon to a bull, and making Helen call herself impudent bitch, which may have led me to transgress the modern rules of elegance and decorum, though I hope in no instance so grossly as the last-cited example. Repetitions and misplacings I fear there are several, for being more solicitous for the substance than the form, if any clearer explanation or further application occurred than had been made before, it seemed more pardonable to resume an article already dispatched, than omit any thing material, or lose a use it was capable of being turned to.

If propriety of diction and harmony of composition have suffered in many places, or the period has like a wounded snake dragged its slow length along, it has not been through inattention but an unwillingness to curtail the sense for the sake of measure; and though Horace directs to send back the ill-turned line to the anvil, I have found the first working too laborious to leave me strength for a second hammering, yet I may probably go through a slight revisal to retouch some few parts where it is most wanted. I have endeavoured to be industrious but not profound, thinking it a less fault for the horse to be a little too mettlesome than jadish: therefore

therefore, after carefully considering my substance, have chosen to follow impulse rather than rule in the disposition and cloathing, yet keeping the rein in my hands to check it upon occasion for which my own word must necessarily be taken, because nobody else can know in what instances I have restrained its scamperings. And I have generally observed that productions which were more the growth of nature than of art, have been better received than those which proceeded with a scrupulous unvaried exactness; for men have such an indolence of temper, they want something continually to awaken it, and will easily pardon negligences springing from a close attention to that view. Nor may these prove unserviceable to attract the notice of such as have quicker eyes and better memories for a blemish than a beauty, because while busy in picking out the chaff, they may chance to find clinging thereto a few grains of sound corn, which they would otherwise never have meddled with.

9. Mankind has been usually distributed into two general classes, heretofore called the adept and the vulgar, but I would rather entitle them the contemplative and the active; because the word vulgar is now become an expression of arrogance and contempt, though formerly innocent, having no relation

to lowness of rank or want of natural capacity, but only of that particular expertness gained by assiduous application of the mental faculties.

These two classes must be addressed in two different languages, the esoteric and the exoteric; but there being a variety of gradations between, requires an equal variety of mixtures of the two languages to accommodate them to every one's taste, so that you cannot talk to a man satisfactorily, till you know what portion he has of the contemplative and of the popular in his composition, which you must find out as well as you can, for if he would tell you, he cannot, never knowing himself how much there is of the latter. This variance of languages has laid me under considerable difficulties, requiring all the caution I could muster up, as well as all the freedom needful to maintain the cause of truth: for being desirous of attempting something for the benefit of both classes, it was unavoidable that I must appear unintelligible to some, and hazard the scandalizing of others; which I know no way to prevent unless each person will be so kind as to suppose whatever he dislikes was intended for other people, without a thought of perplexing or offending him.

But it may be perceived that my principal

cipal view, especially in the former parts has lain towards the intelligent, whom I would not presume to instruct, but only to offer hints which may save them some trouble in making discoveries for themselves. Revelation indeed has begun with the vulgar, for the Gospel was preached to the poor, and we all know how the knowledge imparted by it has passed through the channels of superstition and monkish ignorance to the heights we now are blessed with. But this is one of the intricate ways of Providence explorable only by the all-seeing eye, which purblind man must not pretend to imitate: human reason can only apply to reason, and if her votaries by carefully contributing their lights can come to a conformity upon any material article, they will want neither skill nor authority to draw the rest of the world after them.

The fundamental article I have aimed at establishing is that of universal charity, unreserved benevolence or public spirit, not confined to our own country alone, but extended to every member of the universe, whereof we all are citizens; these terms are in every body's mouth, and the principle of action expressed by them meets with every body's applause, probably because, the excellence of it is so generally acknowledged

they

they are ashamed to appear singular; for it gains the full assent of their understanding, yet perhaps without an intimate persuasion in the sensitive faculty of its real value. This persuasion can only be worked in the persons I am now speaking of by clear deductions of reason, evincing that the good done to another is an advantage secured to the doer; for it must be owned that each man's own happiness is the true original spring and proper first mover of all his actions, so that the profit of others can have no solid weight with him in his contemplative moods, until shown conducive to that, or at least must have an irresistible weight when once so manifested.

Therefore I would entreat him to examine well the several links of the chain whereby this deduction has been attempted: the nature of man constantly actuated by motives either of judgment, inclination, or fancy, void of all free-will of indifference giving a preference to things which had none in his apprehension before, yet having a freedom of action and choice to execute what in his present idea appears eligible, the individuality of his perceptive part rendering it indestructible by all natural powers, the insufficiency of chance and nature for first causes, the divine Omniscience, the universal plan of Providence, comprehending all things as well general as

particular, the derivation of good from the divine Bounty, the Attribute of Equity concerned in the distribution thereof, from whence follows an exact equality of fortune computed upon balance of the whole however unequal in the several parts, and consequently an universal partnership wherein every profit accrues to the benefit of the whole and of every component member; which brings home the interests of his fellow-creatures to himself. To which may be added as a corollary, that the more general interest and the greater good always deserves preference before the less, nor ought to be lost for fear of bringing a damage upon one which will be over-compensated by its produce to the party sustaining it, or to others: and that every benefit or even present gratification and pleasure procured for any individual, not excepting himself, if unattended with bad consequences, is a profit made to the whole.

10. Yet the necessity we lie under many times in the commerce of the world to punish, to hurt, to thwart, and contend with one another, and to maintain our private interests in disregard or opposition to those of our neighbour, is apt to loosen our attachment to the general good; making it appear impracticable and romantic, because finding ourselves perpetually driven into measuress seeming

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contrary thereto. But when we consider how much the world would be the worse for a total omission of those measures, for every one proceeding by a softness and milkiness of temper, untouched by injuries, unmoved at offences, unconcerned for his private interests, we shall be convinced that the practice of them is no deviation from our principal aim, the good of the whole. But since it is the nicest point in all the science of morality to distinguish how far the impulses of affection, resentment, and self-interest coincide with the public good, and when they endamage it, we shall do well to trace our references thereto continually with our best skill and discernment, examining the tendency of our conduct, not only in its immediate consequences, but likewise in the influence it may have by example and sympathy upon the by-standers. By frequent custom of doing this, we may gradually bring our common aims to become lines in the scheme conducting into our principle, shall have a warrant therefrom to quiet our consciences in the prosecution of them, and having thus accommodated it to daily use, shall never need to swerve from it; whence will grow such an habitual attachment, as will readily restrain any desire or impulse that urges apparently to a departure from our plan.

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It cannot be expected that men in busy life, how good soever their talents may be, but having other duties to employ them in, should find leisure or gain expertness enough to trace their references fully, and bring all their measures of conduct into an uniform system dependent throughout upon the ultimate end, but must proceed occasionally upon particular views, and maxims, whereof they do not see distinctly the foundation. For though imbibed from custom, they appear to need no foundation, being self-supported, by an inherent certainty, the strangeness with which any doubt raised against them sounds in the ear giving them a character of self-evident truths. These principles then respecting not only Religion but morality, natural philosophy, politics, politeness, private prudence, and all the measures of conduct, some whereof pass for self-evident truths in one country and with one man, but for self-evident falsehoods and palpable absurdities in another country or with other men, are nevertheless the materials to be employed in rendering theory practicable. Therefore if any man thinks he has pursued his science to the lowest foundations of experience and reason, and formed his own speculative plan thereupon, let him consider next, how far it is practicable to bring

bring others to co-operate therewith; for which purpose he must give attention to the opinions, desires, and ways of thinking prevailing among them, endeavouring to discover wherein he can contribute, be it ever so little, towards correcting or turning them to the general advantage.

But this advantage requiring abilities as well as right disposition to promote it, (for a man of great talents but very slight regard for his fellow-creatures may do more service to the public than another with the most upright intentions but little capacity,) he will concur in encouraging those propensities which urge men to improve and exercise their powers; for it is better they should do good undesignedly, or upon private views, than not do it at all. Nor will he strive indiscreetly to eradicate all fond desires if they be needful to counterbalance others more pernicious: for he will bear his ultimate end constantly in view, weigh in all his measures what profit will accrue upon their whole consequences, and proceed with a judicious moral policy and sometimes practise honest artifice. But the better to succeed herein he cannot be too careful to clear himself from every fibre of that evil weed the desire of excelling, which would unavoidably make him conceited, opinionative and

and selfish, fond of things new and extraordinary, negligent of small services, aspiring to be the leader of a sect, and more solicitous to maintain a point than discover a use to be drawn from his observations. Nevertheless if the whole reason of things together with all its connections cannot be laid open to the busy, yet they might be led into a compendium of it containing the principal links; some whereof, such as the Being of a God, the creation of substances, the superintendency of Providence, the spirituality and unperishableness of the soul are now become popular tenets, though in ancient days the subject of disputes and philosophical enquiries.

And a general humanity and benevolence of mind is so far a popular doctrine too, as that nobody will deny its obligation and commendableness, yet I fear without an intimate persuasion of the truth they acknowledge with their mouths, owing I presume to the injudicious practice of teaching Religion and morality as a distinct science from that of common life, which is indeed a branch of the other, and deserves a diligent endeavour to explain in what manner it grows therefrom. For he that takes a proper care of his private interests, and a proper notice of injuries or offences, acts therein

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for the public good, because it is better for the world that men in general should do so, than that they should omit it. For though the interests of our greater Aion, commonly called the bliss of Heaven, be deservedly the ultimate aim of all our schemes, yet we cannot discover either by anatomy, or politics, or natural philosophy, or any other human science by what methods to attain it; but the temporal happiness of our fellow-creatures, or the greater good resulting to one or more of them from our actions, is the mark which God has given us as well by his light of nature as of Revelation, for our sure direction thereto. Therefore if men of thought would join the knowledge of the world to their abstract science, and observe what reference the common transactions and even amusements of life may bear to the general good, they might remove that objection against the possibility of acting steadily upon this motive, which starts up in people's minds when they cry, we must take a prudent care of ourselves, we must sometimes contradict, oppose, do hurt, and displeasure to one another: for they might show that whenever those things must be done, they tend to encrease the common stock of happiness, and whenever they have apparently a contrary tendency, there is no must in

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the case, but they may and ought to be foreborn.

I do not suppose the whole line of this tendency can be made visible to every common eye, but the principal parts might, and the connection wanting between would be supplied by the authority of the persons tracing it if unanimous in their drawings, so that a principle of universal charity would be generally esteemed the highest prudence, which, as I have several times said before, must in time restore a paradise upon earth: mistakes might be made at first, but experience and the mutual endeavours of all to assist each other in improving upon it, would correct them. It would be too sanguine to hope this can ever take effect compleatly while the present sublunary form of human nature continues, yet this is the point whereto all our aims ought to be directed with discretion, and calm perseverance rather than eager zeal: the more hands concur in the work, the quicker advances will be made, and every little approach will yield its proportionable advantage.

For the business of life seems to lie in extending and enlarging our views: while children we care only for ourselves and the present minute, in a little time our concern reaches to the next hour, or the next day and

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to the persons about us, in youth we look forward to the pleasures of some years before us and take part in the successes of our friends or acquaintance; when arrived to full manhood we deem ourselves in some shape or other public persons, and entertain prospects of family, fortune, or fame: but these are still delusive or narrow views, nor is the heart opened to its just dimensions unless by an universal charity, prompting to every service of our fellow-creatures that opportunity shall make practicable, whereby to secure to us and them a happy establishment for ages to come.

11. But though I have had the speculative chiefly in mine eye, my view has not been to them alone, but besides the efforts towards forming a regular system for their accommodation, I have endeavoured to lay open the sensitivo-rational constitution of human nature, by the study of which they may learn to apply their knowledge to the service of such as want either capacity or leisure to make the full use of their own reason; and have given specimens of the manner wherein some of the popular doctrines may be founded, explained, and enforced upon our theory. For it seems too narrow a vulgarity in those who value themselves upon being raised above the vulgar, to despise every old woman that thrums over good books all day, and groans

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for her sins, because she does not understand Latin, and has no interests in the county: my notion is apparent enough by this time concerning the intrinsic equality of the spiritual individuals, their differences proceeding from the structure, and fitting up of the habitations wherein they are lodged, therefore I can regard none of my fellow-creatures as below my notice. Perhaps the learned reader will take this oddity, if he thinks it one, as an excuse for some sections up and down which were designed for the old lady: as I hope the latter will admit the like excuse upon the merit of those sections for what she finds strange and latitudinarian elsewhere, believing me a well-intentioned body, but a little bewildered by dealing too much among heathen authors.

But one must run hazards of disgusting some in endeavouring to accommodate others; for all expect to have their own occasions solely consulted, and whoever does otherwise they censure, the wise pronouncing him a weak, and the simple a bad man. This danger was unavoidable in the prosecution of my design, for I wanted to bring both classes, to be more sociable and mutually helpful to one another, by making the one a little more sympathizing, and the other a little more rational. My apprehensions of blame are greatest

greatest from the latter class, as abounding more in absolute certainty and self-evident truths, and consequently of a less forgiving temper, because every questioning of a self-evident truth can proceed from nothing but wilful wickedness: and I know not whether they may not be known by this characteristic, or whether how well soever a man may understand Latin and Greek, or how deeply soever be read in Collins's Heraldry, or the Parliamentary Journals, yet if he be positive in his conceptions, and look with a contemptuous strangeness upon every thing that does not exactly tally with them, this ought not to be taken as a sure mark that the sensitive part is predominant over the rational in his composition.

But though desirous of keeping upon good terms with every body, I am less solicitous of the two to save my own credit than to avoid doing real hurt to any: I have used all the caution in my power when handling of ticklish subjects, and if I have transgressed the bounds of discretion in some material point, the candid reader may please to know that my conversation for some years past has fallen among persons who had other ways of employing their thoughts than those I have travelled, so was forced to break through the briars of abstraction by myself, without company

company or assistance on my journey; therefore he will consider me as inopem consilii, destitute of advice, and grant me the same indulgence which the law-courts upon the like consideration allow to a will, wherein they endeavour to discover the testator's intention without insisting upon a legal nicety of form or expression: so he will judge upon the spirit rather than the letter, and upon the line of view followed upon every particular occasion, than accidental slips made for want of better eyes or seasonable admonition.

I wished to have imparted my thoughts to different persons separately, but this was impossible in a written treatise where the reader chooses his book, not the author his readers. I should then have paid a due respect to the self-evident truths which some discern by the eye of faith, and others by the moral sense, which two organs sometimes discover absolute certainties contradictory to each other. The former may take scandal at my ascribing too much to nature, as derogating from the divine dominion, and the latter at my supporting the credibility of immediate interpositions, as implying a want of skill in the Maker to construct his work perfect without needing to be perpetually rectified by his own hand. But my idea of nature is not that of a distinct independent agent or power, but a tissue

tissue of second causes set at work by God with certain foreknowledge and intention of every minute effect they should produce: therefore I cannot be charged with impiety for attributing too largely to nature, or even supposing the rewards and punishments of another life effected by natural causes, because by giving to nature I take nothing from God, every operation she performs being his act, as truly as if done by a direct exertion of his Omnipotence.

And if there have been immediate interpositions among mankind, I do not conceive them employed for correction of defects or oversights in the original plan, but interwoven thereinto on the first formation, for manifestation of the divine agency to the creatures, lest by constant attention to nature alone, they should forget there was a superior power establishing her laws, and giving the first motion to all her courses. So likewise if there be a written word, my conceptions of the Almighty represent him as consistent and uniform throughout in all his dispensations, therefore his word cannot be new laws repealing any of those promulgated by the voice of Reason, but contains only suggestions leading to the discovery of secrets in nature we should never have hit upon without that aid; which when traced down

down to their foundations become parts of our natural philosophy, taking that science in its largest latitude extending beyond what is styled physiology, to the laws of nature respecting the invisible world, of which we can have no other knowledge than what can be gathered from contemplation of the character, and observation upon the ways of their founder.

12. The generality of mankind, how acute soever their optics may be, rarely have them set either for microscopic or telescopic observations, their necessary commerce in the world confining them with certain dimensions convenient for common use, beyond which compass they can see no objects greater or smaller than the familiar sizes. This gives a strangeness to all discourse upon a plan of universal nature, a series of causes running immeasurable lengths, the connection of interests, the foundation of justice upon expedience, and an equality worked by the balance between a diversity of states in some immense period: as on the other hand it creates a difficulty of analyzing the component parts of compounds, of action and operation, which are apprehended in the gross, of discerning the latent and sudden motives necessary to be known for a thorough insight into human nature, and noting the variations of language according

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ing to the several occasions whereon it is used.

Hence spring the difficulties upon free-will and the dominion of Providence, the self-moving powers of nature, the idea of chance as an agent, the propensity for having recourse to Omnipotence without intervention of second causes, the intrinsic goodness of rectitude and virtue without relation to consequences, and confused notion of the soul as being purely spiritual yet possessing powers which cannot subsist without material instruments. Hence likewise the diversity of dialects distinguishing them into esoteric and exoteric, wherein several words carry different and sometimes opposite senses, such as pleasure, interest, substance, person, individual, divine agency, Providence, besides many others: so that the same expression may contain sound orthodoxy in one person's apprehension, and greatly scandalize others, and this not by any real variance in their opinions, but from their variously understanding the terms wherein it is couched. Thus follow pleasure, and consult your own interests, are fundamental rules in the esoteric code, whereon all the obligations of religion, morality and discretion are primarily supported, but would be extremely fatal to such as speak only the vulgar tongue, because

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with them pleasure and interest are two great deceivers we must warn men against, as continually leading them astray: for those terms in the former case denote the whole sum of satisfactions consequent upon a measure under our option, in the latter they signify the present gratification of some desire starting uppermost in the fancy.

So likewise it is a maxim holding invariably true, that the end sanctifies the means; but then this is to be understood only of the ultimate end when clearly discerned, and the road thereto apparent beyond all hazard of a mistake: yet it would make wild work among the generality, who act always under subordinate ends, many times palmed upon them without their knowing it by some secret passion, if they were allowed to pursue their end by any means whatever good or bad. For this reason I am a little in pain about inconveniencies from my doctrine of the Vehicles and Mundane Soul, for though I do not know that those hypotheses tend to invalidate any one article of religion or mortality, not even the eternity of punishment, understanding that term by the popular idiom, yet there is a hazard that some folks, capable of apprehending nothing unless by sensible images, if once persuaded the room is full of mundane spirits with some departed souls

souls intermixed, may take it into their heads to fancy they see them whisk to and fro, or feel them in their insides, or hear them buzzing about their ears, or perceive some operation performed by them: but I must desire such people not to charge their superstitious notions at my door, for in my idea of spiritual substances they are not the object of any sense, and though I have supposed them concerned as first movers in the operations of matter, they act therein as instruments in steady conformity to the will of God, with clear understanding of his great and gracious design, and the propriety of their several parts for carrying on the courses of nature marked out in his plan of Providence, nor are they liable to any of those vagaries or irregularities too continually practised by ourselves. And for the Vehicular gentry if we have any of them in our company, their minuteness is such that we can have no intercourse with them whatever, nor see them with all our straining any more than we can the corpuscles of air, whereof nevertheless we know the room is full.

It was lucky I happened to escape the notion of pre-existence, for though I have shown upon several occasions how that whimsy may be turned to excellent advantages, yet it might have set some fanciful peo-

ple a-dreaming, that they conversed with the unborn in their sleep, or had scenes renewed of occurences passing with them in a former state, or perhaps they might have given into the only foible remaining upon record of Socrates, who imagined that when a man, after pouring over a mathematical demonstration, happens at once to discern the force of it, this was a reminiscence or recollection of a truth familiarly known to him a hundred years before; just as if you had an intimate friend gone to the East Indies, and after twenty years absence you see somebody you think you have seen before, but do not know where, till upon examining his features carefully you feel a sudden joy upon recollecting it is your old acquaintance.

But the scientific system in general is by no means convenient for common use, it serves only to rectify the ordinary rules whereby we must act, to restrain their extravagances, to determine between their variances where they appear to clash, and to prevent their being misapprehended or misapplied. For how can the artisan, how can the man of business, deduce his measures of conduct from the general good of the universe, first parting it into two principal branches, prudence and benevolence, and from thence drawing out the particular twigs suitable

suitable to his own occasions? or how tell in what manner his contentions and caution in bargains are conducive thereto? therefore he must follow the duties of his profession, and maxims of private prudence or self-defence, as first principles. And he may answer the end of his vocation thereby, as well as men of deeper penetration: for the purpose for which our span of life was given us, as observed above, seems to be for strengthening the judgment by exerting it in opposition to appetite, therefore not he who has the most piercing judgment, but he who makes the best use of such judgment as he has, is the better man; but strength is gained more by the struggle than by the victory, for when opposition ceases, judgment grows into an appetite, and we act under it by habit or impulse without aid of the rational faculties: therefore whoever adheres steadily to any rules which have the approbation of his judgment upon the best evidences he can obtain, performs his part compleatly so far as relates to his own merit in the execution.

But since there are various offices among mankind contributing to the service of the whole, various talents distributed, and stations assigned respectively suitable thereto, some being qualified to examine the propriety and general expedience of measures which

others can only execute, the former ought to consider themselves as persons placed upon a promontory for sake of others, not as a peculiar privilege to themselves, to make signals to their fellows below, warning them against deviations from what they discern to be the proper ultimate point of pursuit: not striving to force attention with a dictative authority, but choosing rather to proceed by ways of friendly admonition and gentle persuasion, adapted to the character of those on whom they would prevail.

13. I have taken pains to suggest plans of observation to my brother centinels for the better execution of their office, and have not been wholly negligent to take my part among them by giving notices to such of the travellers below, as are willing to receive them: but those pains have cost me so many weary hours, they seem to need an apology with the world for undergoing such drudgery. For amusement is so much thought the sole business and obligation of one who is not driven from it by necessity or the duties of a profession, that all voluntary labour, or abridging oneself of diversions in one's power, appears an oddity and strangeness, and by that mark must needs be self-evidently wrong.

Yet I think there is one exception against this

this rule in the case of self-interest: a man may constrain himself in his pleasures for the sake of raising an immense fortune, or getting a place among the ministry, or a title, or for establishing an influence in the country, without imputation of folly or being thought a strange creature. This exception I may claim the benefit of, being in principle one of the most selfish mortals upon earth: not but that to my shame it must be owned, I daily swerve in my conduct from this unerring guide, but then it is upon being taken by surprize, obscured by the darkness of my optics, hurried by some impetuous or beguiled by some sly passion, or driven by the torrent of the world; but in my contemplative moods, when having the best use of my understanding, self lies at the bottom of all my schemes; and this work being the produce of my considerate tranquil hours, it may be admitted, that I was actuated all along therein by the same laudable motive. But it will be asked what private advantage I can propose by taking a course which lies neither in the road to profit, nor honours, nor popularity, nor can be expected to draw notice enough for gaining an empty reputation. These objects indeed I had not in prospect not even the last of them, for the world admire what they love, and love what gratifies

gratifies their humours, not what aims at correcting them: coincidence with a popular passion will make a single line of half-starved spiders fed on half-starved flies, outshine all the sublime of Homer and Milton, and obtain a currency almost equal with the Bible; but though I have ranked compliance among the virtues, I am unluckily ill qualified for a servile compliance either with court or common council. Besides, supposing the most that can be supposed, performances of the kind I present, if they make their way in the world at all, do it by very slow degrees, being first regarded only by a few, until by them recommended to public notice; so that I cannot hope to reap a benefit therefrom, for a few years will enrol me among the Vehicles, where if I should know any thing of what passes here below I shall probably retain as little relish for the trumpet of earthly fame, as I do now for the applauses, bestowed in my childhood upon having made a pretty bow, or repeated currently the fable of the frog and mouse.

Nevertheless, I have already in part reaped some benefit form my labours, having thereby cast my thoughts into a more regular train affording light, wanted before in some points as well of speculation as of daily use, thereby rendering my conduct a little more consistent

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and satisfactory. Could I conform my practice compleatly to my own doctrines, and turn all my convictions into habitual lively persuasions of the sensitive faculty, I should be a clever fellow and a happy man: but of this I fall greatly deficient, yet this very failure is not without its benefit, as helping to check that noxious weed the desire of excelling, by making me fully sensible how little ground of encouragement there is for expecting to succeed in such a desire. For self-conceit grows most copiously out of ignorance, as heath, and brakes do from barren sands: the better a man becomes acquainted with what is real excellence, the more he will be mortified on finding how far he falls short of it; and he will sometimes discover those very sentiments and proceedings to be weakness, which otherwise he would have been extremely proud of.

Yet if any body else can make a better use to his own emolument of the lights here struck out, he his heartily welcome: I do not mean this as a compliment, nor to beg an applause of uncommon disinterestedness, for to confess the honest truth, I am so thoroughly selfish, that I should hardly concern myself much with what happens to other folks, if I did not think my own interests involved

involved with theirs. For I have taken so much tincture from my speculations, as to stand persuaded of the general connection and partnership throughout the Universe: so that by playing a beneficial branch of trade into a partner's hands, I serve myself, and whatever good is procured for a fellow-creature will redound upon the author; either in the exoteric language, by reward annexed to the declaration of that sentence, Insomuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me, or in the esoteric, by provisons already made in the laws of universal Nature, working the same effect through a chain of consequences uninvestigable by human science.

14. Perhaps it will be asked again, What considerable progress I expect to make in the reformation of mankind with all my toiling, for people will not easily pardon you for taking great pains without great prospects; and this humour of the world seems to be figured in the parable of the talents, where it was the one talent only that was abused, for we may suppose the possessor of it argued with himself in this manner, Had I been entrusted with five talents there had been good encouragement to have aimed at obtaining the government of five cities, but it

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is not worth while to plod with a single talent for sake of the slender profit that may be made of it by the best management.

But my idea of industry has been seen, wherein its genuine characteristic appears to be an attentiveness to small profits in default of opportunity or powers for greater; so I am not solicitous to measure the size of my talent, nor find out important services to employ it in, but to turn it to the best advantage it is capable of. I am not gifted to serve my country in the cabinet or senate, nor to declaim in prose or verse for the cause of liberty without understanding or well considering what liberty is, and am of too timid aconstitution to address my sovereign with professions of inviolable loyalty, but upon proviso that he will employ such ministers as I shall like: therefore to how little purpose soever I have bestirred myself, I know of no other way wherein I could have attempted a better. And I seem the fitter for proceeding in this way by my situation in life subjecting me to no prior engagements, which renders the passage more expedite and open to me than to the clergy, within whose province it might be thought properly to lie: for besides that they are suspected by many persons in all they say as coming from parties interested, from advocates retained to support

support a cause rather than friendly monitors or impartial enquirers, they are likewise a little confined in their motions by the necessary regard to their profession and character; for the same truths are and ought no more to be spoken by all men, than to all men; there is a respect due to the audience, and a decency to be observed that nothing may be let slip unbecoming one's station. This I conceive still restrains them a little in their freedom, notwithstanding that of late days they make frequent excursions, so far as that commendable regard to decency and discretion will permit, in the way of rational explanation, the same I have attempted to travel: to instance particularly in one article, that upon the operation and efficacy of prayer, there seems to be some strokes of similitude between my chapter and the treatise of Archdeacon Stebbing upon that subject; and I flatter myself the resemblance would have been greater, if either he had addressed to the studious, or I been to write for the better sort in a country parish.

With respect to my own expectations of success from my labours, I do not look for much notice to be taken of them, nor much service to be done by them directly, for want of a facility in expressing my trains of ideas with clearness, which perhaps may be further

further obscured by the desire of gratifying that general fondness for amusement, mentioned above: for one is apt to judge of the rest of the world by the little circle of one's own acquaintance, and though they perpetually recommend books to my perusal, I never hear them do it because the book is instructive, but because entertaining, nor do they tell me the author has handled his subject with solidity and judgment, but with spirit and smartness: so this idea of obligation to aim at liveliness may sometimes have overwhelmed the substance, for though I have endeavoured all along to be serious without being solemn, and to keep something solid in view even when appearing most familiar and playful, this stratagem may fail of taking effect; because some, like children to whom you give a pill wrapped up in a raisin, will suck the plumb and spit out the medicine, while the indignation of others will rise on seeing themselves treated like children, by going to tempt them with sugar plumbs.

Yet how little benefit soever I can hope to do myself, it is not impossible but this imperfect attempt may put somebody or other upon the like method to erect a system of Religion upon the foundation of human nature, and such knowledge of our Maker, as can be gathered from contemplation of the world

world around us, taking directions from the Sacred Writings in what lines of bearing to pursue his enquiries: and as Falstaff valued himself upon the cause of wit in other men, so if my rude sketches should occasion some compleater production which may gain general currency and do signal service among mankind when Search and his embryo work are clean forgotten, I may still take credit for it in my own account. For had I been able to do the like, those to whom I was obliged for my education, or by whose works I have profited, would have been entitled to their share in the produce; and whoever is remotely instrumental to a good purpose though atchieved by other hands, promotes his own interests therein. Therefore I shall conclude with a wish well becoming a selfish person, which is, that this in any manner may prove wholesome bread, which I cast upon the waters, for I do not fear to find it again after many days.

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